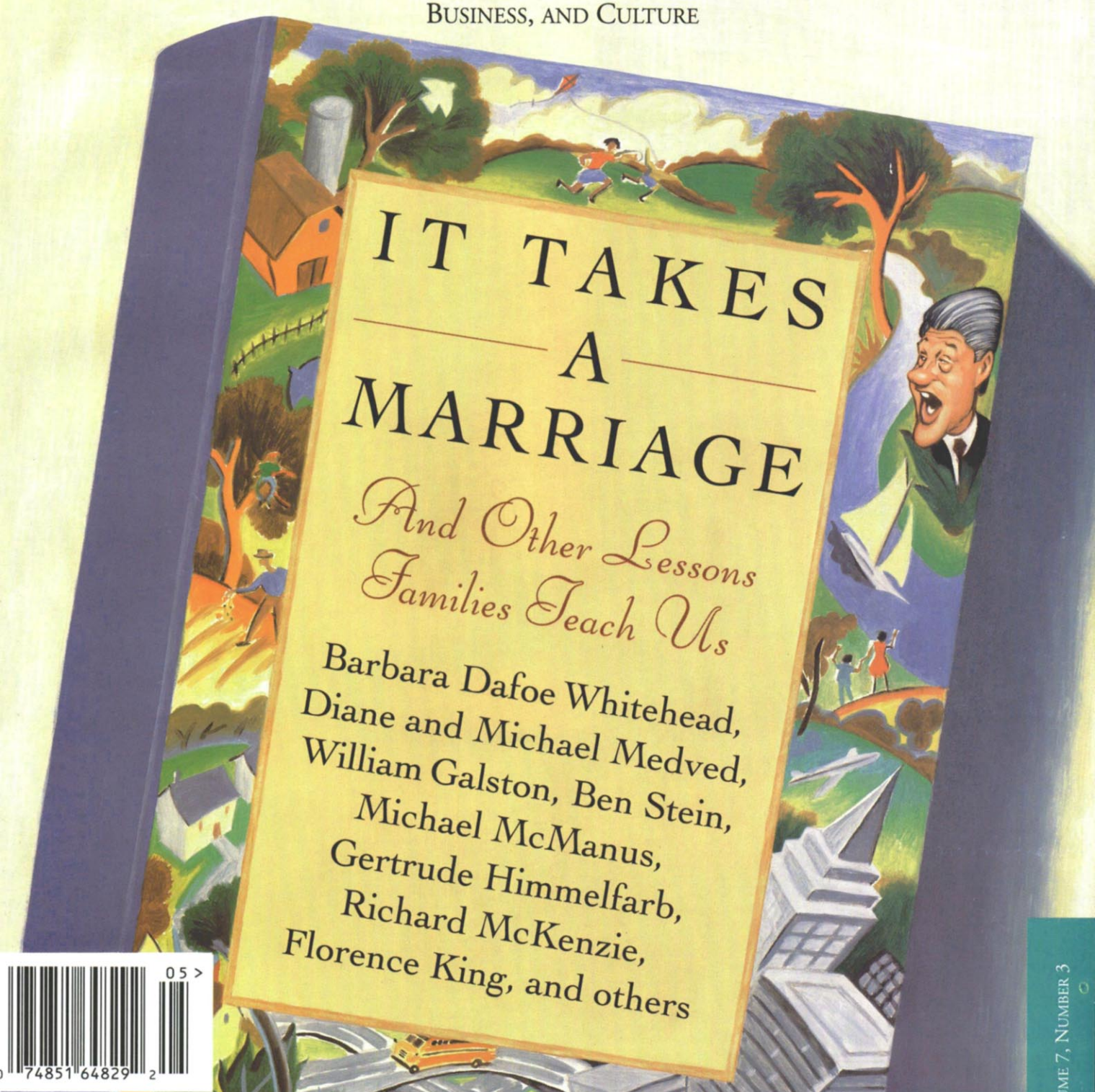
JOHN DiIULIO & ED KOCH ❧ ROUNDUP ON THE PRIMARIES ❧ PEASANTS FOR FREE TRADE

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

$5.50

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture



IT TAKES A MARRIAGE

And Other Lessons Families Teach Us

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead,
Diane and Michael Medved,
William Galston, Ben Stein,
Michael McManus,
Gertrude Himmelfarb,
Richard McKenzie,
Florence King, and others

05 >
0 74851 64829 2

May/June 1996 Volume 7, Number 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHASE

No one carries more weight in the worlc

First Row: Don Layton, Dick Matteis, Ed Miller, Michel Kruse, Walter Shipley, Tom Labrecque, Bill Harrison, Arjun Mathrani, Jimmy Lee, Jim Zeigon
Second Row: Cynthia Green, John Fox, Herb Aspbury, Carol Burt, Paul Brandow, Paul Beckwith, Doug Anderson, Henry Gooss, Suzanne Hammett, Terry Todman, Aristides Georgantas, Ina Drew
Third Row: Maria Elena Lagomasino, Sarah Jones, Frank Lourenso, Nina Lihn, Bernie Jacob, Harold Meyerman, Jeff Larsen, Jeff Walker, Dod Fraser, Kathy Tucker, Georges Vergnion
Fourth Row: Peter Gleysteen, Pat Bonan, Ken Lay, Nancy Mistretta, D'Arcy LeClair, Leslie Lassiter, Deb Talbot, Dexter Charles, Yvonne Cliff, Karen Keating, Mavis Taintor, Greg Nelson
Fifth Row: Carroll Wetzel, Mark Richardson, Susan Segal, Len Spalding, Tom Swayne, David Nelson, Don Wilson, John Youngblood, Marc Shapiro, Barbara Luttich, Brian O'Neill
Sixth Row: Tom Reifenheiser, John Adams, Vivian Banta Eversole, Bruce Hannon, Charles Bauccio, Todd Maclin, Richard Edwards, Margaret Cording, Alan Buckwalter
Seventh Row: Gene Marshall, Chris Rocker, Dennis Goggin, Morten Arntzen, Jorge Jasson, Daniel Canel, Bob Gillham, Bill Finnegan, Bill Rockford, Greg Parris, Robert Fallon

© 1996 The Chase Manhattan Corporation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

financial market than the new Chase client.

Banking, at its essence, is about a total commitment to anticipating and serving client needs. That's exactly what the new Chase is about—combining the strengths of two institutions that in all their years of existence have had a history that revolves around client relationships. And now that we're bigger and stronger, we want to make sure you know that we will leverage our global strengths and leadership positions across a breadth of global products to focus more on our clients than ever before.

That means we will work harder to know your needs more intimately than any bank in the world. We will make every effort to win your trust more than any bank in the world. And we will do our very best to provide the exact integrated solution for your unique demands, with more speed and efficiency than any bank in the world.

We're really excited about the changes the new Chase is committed to achieve. Not just for us but for our clients. After all, that's what banking has always been about.

Please visit our website at: http://www.chase.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

May/June 1996 Vol. 7, No. 3

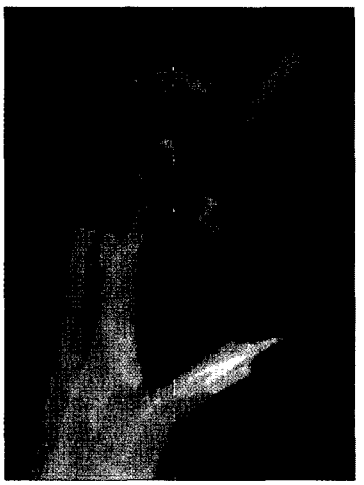
4 BIRD'S EYE
Collapsing marriages we can do something about. All that's lacking is will.

8 SIDELIGHTS
Rent-a-rock. Chilean Americans for English. Making lieutenant the hard way.

10 SCAN
The marriage-crime connection. Felix Unger's prenuptial agreement. Adoption and the color barrier. Gay marriage backlash. Tin-eared conservatives. Peasants love free trade. God spanks Freud. Alan Dershowitz, pro-bonohead. Emperor judges of Nebraska and Boston. Working women. Left-wing laughers. Pro-choice gropers.

20 INDICATORS ◆ Numbers, etc.
Drug abuse relapse. Teen-mother crisis? (Not exactly). Divorce around the globe.

22 TWO VIEWS
Ed Koch and John DiIulio dissect the troubling upturn in drug abuse rates after more than a decade of progress. Bill Clinton phone home.



PAGE 24

24 THE WAR BETWEEN THE SEXES
Barbara Dafoe Whitehead
Marriage is a bridge over the sexual divide. As it rusts away, things are getting ugly between men and women.

28 THE MARRIAGE SAVERS
Michael McManus, with sidebars by *David Popenoe, Maggie Gallagher, Nelia Odom, Nancy Pearcey,* and *Kathleen Howley*
We know how to repair most marriages. What's needed is action.

35 WALKAWAY WIVES
Paul Akers
Overlooked amidst the catcalling about deadbeat dads: Women initiate most divorces.

36 BRAKING DIVORCE
William Galston
Divorce should be less easy. Here's why. Here's how.

37 THE BACKLASH AGAINST NO-FAULT DIVORCE
Glenn Stanton
State legislatures are rumbling with new proposals from divorce-busters.

39 DIVORCE'S TOLL ON CHILDREN
Karl Zinsmeister
Promoted as adult liberation, divorce is punishment for kids. And lots of adults too.

45 MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS
William Mattox
Tying the knot is good for you. Here's the proof.

47 BANISH THE HONEYMOON!
Michael Medved
Why newlyweds should stay home.

Cover illustration by James Bennett

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

50 BEWARE THE CHILDREARING MANUAL
Gertrude Himmelfarb
When it comes to raising children, an expert is sometimes the worst person to ask.

52 RAISING CHILDREN IS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY
Karl Zinsmeister
Very young children need one-on-one parents, not villages. The Israeli kibbutzniks proved that.

55 ONE MAN'S FAMILY VALUES
Ben Stein
Start at home, if you want to help American children.

57 WHAT IS A FAMILY FOR?
Diane Medved
A psychologist defends manipulating, judging, discriminating parents.

59 REVIVE THE ORPHANAGE
Richard McKenzie
But don't expect any help from the child-development profession.

63 FAMILY BREAKDOWN AND THE U.S. MILITARY
John Luddy
Some of the government's most expensive and counterproductive welfare programs for families are run by the Pentagon.

PAGE 50

66 IN REAL LIFE ◇ The daily work of Americans
◇ *Jennifer Morse* traces her journey from economist to mother.
◇ *Ernest Lefever* tells of real poverty and real charity in the Great Depression.
◇ *Raymond Wisher* observes juveniles in the courtroom.
◇ *David Broome* guards the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
◇ *Blake Hurst* mulls the importance of ancestors, Decoration Day, and family roots.

70 THE ECONOMIST
Everybody says a flat tax that eliminates the mortgage deduction would hurt homeowners. Everybody's wrong.

74 ENTERPRISING ◇ Business as an imaginative act
The Postal Service wants to dip into lots of new private businesses. Don't let 'em.

76 FLASHBACK
Speaking of third parties, remember George Wallace?

78 BOOK TALK
◇ Florence King—*It Takes a Village* by Hillary Rodham Clinton
◇ Alan Pell Crawford—*The Stevensons: A Biography of an American Family* by Jean H. Baker
◇ Gerald J. Russello—*Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* by Alonzo L. Hamby
◇ Martin Morse Wooster—*Founding Father* by Richard Brookhiser
◇ Brian Doherty—*The Captive Press* by Ted Galen Carpenter
◇ Jesse Walker—*A Force Upon the Plain* by Kenneth S. Stern
◇ Scott Walter—*Lancelot* by Walker Percy

88 THE DIGEST ◇ Summaries of important research
Term limits are a venerable idea....don't blame foreign trade, blame regulation...
Sell the Third World family jewels...when garbage is good.

91 OPINION PULSE ◇ The latest survey data
Definitive roundup of exit polls from the spring primaries.

95 THE MAIL
Oliver Stone fires back. Feedback on the Internet and talk radio.
Gambling opponents speak up. Grappling with race.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

MAY/JUNE 1996 VOL. 7, NO. 3

PUBLISHER *CHRISTOPHER DEMUTH*

EDITOR IN CHIEF *KARL ZINSMEISTER*

SENIOR EDITOR *SCOTT WALTER*
ASSISTANT EDITOR *TOM SWITZER*
ASSOCIATE EDITORS *BILL KAUFFMAN*
MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER
OPINION PULSE EDITOR *KARLYN H. BOWMAN*

ART DIRECTOR *DEANNE D. YETMAN*
GRAPHIC DESIGNERS *ALLYSON NEILY BROWN*
JEANNE BERGER

BUSINESS MANAGER *CARISA LOPEZ*

INTERNS *NICOLE FALESE*
SEAN G. RUSHTON
MALAIKA A. WILSON

CHIEF OF OPERATIONS *DAVID GERSON*

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
(ISSN 1047-3572), published bimonthly by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Second-class postage paid at Washington D.C. and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1996, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
"The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 or fax: (202) 862-7178 or e-mail 75272.1226@compuserve.com.

PRODUCTION AND BUSINESS OFFICE
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
(202) 862-5886.

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR IN CHIEF
The American Enterprise
430 South Geneva Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.
(607) 272-0909.

MANUSCRIPTS
The editors welcome mailed inquiries briefly summarizing article ideas. We will not be responsible for returning any unsolicited manuscripts. Send to Senior Editor at Washington, D.C. address.

SUBSCRIPTIONS
$28 one year. Overseas: add $30.
Subscription correspondence and address changes: The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 2013, Marion, OH 43305-2013. (800) 596-2319.

Bird's Eye

KARL ZINSMEISTER

Marriage Matters

The meaning and worth of love...is that it forces us...to acknowledge for another the same absolute significance which, because of the power of egoism, we are conscious of only in our own selves. —*Vladimir Solovyov*

I have an acquaintance, about my age, who had a job selling cars locally. His daughters are close friends of my seven-year-old. Let's call him Kevin.

There was no violence in Kevin's marriage, no drinking or drugs. Husband and wife are both pleasant people. But a couple months ago it became known that Kevin had become involved with a woman about 15 years younger who worked as a secretary at his dealership. Kevin and his wife were in crisis. In school, their girls were describing sad scenes at home. Friends and associates expressed concern.

But some people expressed more concern than others. The leaders of their church didn't intervene, even though the girls are enrolled in the parish's Catholic school, where this trouble is well known (and overflowing into other families' lives through the children). Kevin's employer, however, did get involved. The owners of the dealership are a close, old local family with young grade school children of their own. They know Kevin's wife, who is willing to take him back. They offered to give Kevin time off from work so the two of them could work their problems through. They offered to pay for them to take a trip together. They offered him money for counseling. They told Kevin that saving his marriage was worth it, and important to them as his employer.

And when Kevin refused their offers of help, they fired him. And the secretary he was consorting with. They contested his application for unemployment benefits on the grounds that he hadn't been laid off but rather dismissed for refusing to follow company standards of personal conduct. And in our small town, I'd say there's a pretty good chance they let other potential employers know what they thought about the man.

If more of our community institutions reacted to individual marital breakdowns like the employer I've described above (and fewer like the do-nothing church), our national rates of marital collapse would surely be less shameful. William Bennett has written that "civilization needs cultural guardrails, certain reliable standards of right and wrong that may not be enforceable in law but must be enforceable through conscience and consensus." Defending marriage and maintaining guardrails around the family is just such an undertaking. It is not so much a task for politics or law as a responsibility of each of us in our roles as neighbors, employers, pastors, and local compatriots.

If we took this responsibility seriously, many grave problems could be averted. For today's flood of marital collapse is distributing great wreckages of human hurt, childhood trauma, and social and economic damage across American society (see pp. 39-44). And there is nothing inevitable about this. Other industrial nations have divorce levels only about *half* ours. (A side-by-side comparison is printed in INDICATORS.)

Marriage is the cornerstone upon which most of the rest of our social order rests. A man and woman linked in a lifelong childrearing union are the original microcommunity—the building block of all broader forms of trust, cooperation, and productivity. So long as these basic collaborations remain as weak as they are in present-day America, all other forms of community will be shaky, and social problems will be rampant.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That's why marriage reclamation must precede other forms of societal reform. A practical example: I have several dedicated friends who are currently devoting much time and energy to an attempt to build up a "fatherhood" movement. Fatherlessness, they say, is America's most important social problem.

Goodness knows this country needs more men who put their responsibilities to their children ahead of their own selfish desires. But as I told these individuals when a small group of us gathered a few years ago to launch some fatherhood-supporting organizations, I believe talking about fatherhood off on its own is not likely to influence daily behavior much. For most men, fatherhood is part of a package deal—a wife, the kids, a serious attitude toward career and earnings, a settled, disciplined, and responsible role in the community.

At some point in early adulthood, most males trade the irresponsible freedoms of the "bachelor lifestyle" for the deeper, subtler satisfactions that spring from being the progenitor of a household and a capable contributor to society. Under the best circumstances, becoming a father is the crowning event of the transition from a "natural" male state (where basic appetites and instincts dominate) to the civilized male role (where these crude impulses are productively sublimated into a quest for social honor). But fatherhood is usually only the "clincher" in the transition from male to man; for most men it is not the main bait. The first and foremost incentive is a woman.

Lots of things go into the civilizing of men, including religious experience, the gradual absorption of social codes and ethical standards, disciplinings from older or more powerful men, and a re-channeling of innate aggression into structured competition. But the biggest single influence that makes most men grow up and join the world is the desire to win and keep a good lifemate. Hunger for a strong mental, emotional, and sexual partnership is the main force creating the good husband, good father, good employee, and good citizen.

In a world where marriages are falling apart, desirable male qualities like disciplined work, mentoring of children, and responsible citizenship will also go into decline. And attempts to fix those secondary breakdowns without first fixing the marriages will be very inefficient. That isn't just my opinion. Look at the social evidence: the number of fathers who stay heavily involved with their children after the father's relationship with the mother has crumbled is very small—maybe 5 to 20 percent based on the research I've studied.

In other words: no solid marriage, no good family man. (The sidebar on page 46 discusses this in more detail.) Even men who've been solid soldiers for years can quickly revert to puerile behavior and the eerie lackawanna of adolescence once their loyalty to a wife crumbles. Which brings us back to the "package deal." The only reliable way to closely integrate most men with children, hard work, and dependability is to get them settled into a stable, satisfying, lifelong pair bond. Marriage. It's the keystone.

So, reviving marriage (and discouraging divorce) is important. How to do it? The first thing to acknowledge is that marriage is not always an easy or natural state. As Barbara Dafoe Whitehead suggests in our lead essay, every married couple has to wrangle with the sharp biological differences between men and women. There's a lot to work out.

Traditionally, women have used marriage to govern male sexuality, gaining in the process some security and protection during their highly vulnerable period of childrearing. The fact that feminists are among today's leading critics of enduring marriage would astonish women of other times and places. "A woman in favor of divorce is like a turkey in favor of Christmas," as an Irishwoman once put it—an analogy whose general truth has recently been borne out by data showing that easy divorce is one of today's leading impoverishers of women.

Another cautionary about marriage is that, even under the best of circumstances, no lifelong partnership can be thrilling all the time. Once they come down to earth after their initial romance, many married couples struggle, worrying that their love has dissipated along with their ecstatic feelings.

Perhaps you've heard the story about the teacher who was quizzing his students on vocabulary. He was reading words out and the children were shouting back the definitions. "Monotony," he enunciated part way through. "Having only one wife or husband," came the answer.

Both the "boredom" problem and the "clashing sexes" problems intrinsic to marriage are captured in one of my favorite country music songs. It's titled: "My Wife Ran Off With My Best Friend. And I Sure Do Miss Him."

Without question, the love that takes the form of an intoxicating fever between man and woman is perishable. But real marital love is what goes on after the intoxication is gone. "Love is a decision, not a feeling, a choice to befriend someone for life rather than just use them," says essayist Joe Breighner. The fickleness of love is, in fact, one of the main reasons marriage is needed. As a woman I know says, "marriage is what keeps you together *until* you fall in love again."

Marriage is a complicated cultural invention that requires upkeep. That vital practical work is exactly what Mike McManus focuses on in our second feature article. McManus is himself one of the founders of the marriage-saving movement—a grassroots mobilization that has demonstrated dramatic successes in combating the contemporary drift toward disposable marriage. Amazingly few of the couples who end up in divorce court have tried any mediation or counseling. One of today's most vital social missions is to introduce more Americans to the simple programs, organizations, and ideas discussed on pages 28-34 of this magazine. They are effective, and we as a people badly need this particular salve.

Of course, even proven therapies will fail if there is no will to change. Though most Americans have been sobered by the bitter fallout of various 1960s liberationisms, there is still a significant group—disproportionately influential in the media and among "experts" on college campuses—who may deny the very premise that lifelong marriage is desirable, and divorce to be discouraged as much as possible.

Even among America's sensible middle class, there is a tendency to think of our "broken family problem" and the obviously poor upbringing of many of today's children as being mostly a function of illegitimacy in inner cities rather than divorce in sub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

urbs. When Dan Quayle revisited his famous Murphy Brown speech about family breakdown two years ago, he said he hadn't meant to include children of divorce in his warning. Well, he ought to have. While illegitimacy probably is today's most threatening family dysfunction, divorce is in much the same league in terms of the frequency and severity with which it affects children. Both problems annually drive more than a million children into single-parent families. Both increase child poverty. Both cause serious behavioral problems.

But let's treat this as an open question for the moment. Could it be, as some would have us believe, that the withering of marriage is no big deal? Perhaps a rich, modern society doesn't need lifelong commitment the way simpler ones did.

One problem with this view is the historical record. History suggests marriage is the oldest and probably most indispensable of all human institutions. It varies in name, and sometimes in detail, but as anthropologist David Gilmore says, "all societies have marriage—there are *none* that do not." And the reason is simple: marriage regulates sex. And sex, as everyone knows, is humanity's original impulse.

Of course over the last generation, attempts to regulate sex have had all the popularity of a good nosebleed. In a book looking back at his experiences as a 1960s radical, Peter Collier illustrates the contempt his colleagues felt toward marriage. "Two of my Movement comrades decided to get married," he writes. "After a ceremony filled with gibberish about liberation and the Third World, there was a reception, featuring a large wedding cake frosted with the slogan: Smash Monogamy." Needless to say, that marriage didn't last long.

Bill Bennett tells a story of two of his students who married back when he was a professor. They too spouted lines about how they weren't going to own each other, would have an open marriage, didn't believe in sexual slavery, and so forth. For his wedding present, Bennett gave them paper plates.

Like it or not, monogamy is fundamental to any equitable society. A world without marital boundaries is a ruthlessly every-man-for-himself place, as author George Gilder explains:

> Monogamy is egalitarianism in the realm of love. It is a mode of rationing. It means—to put it crudely—one to a customer. Competition is intense enough even so, because of the sexual inequality of human beings. But under a regime of monogamy there are limits. One may covet one's neighbor's wife or husband, one may harbor fantasies of teeny-boppers, but one generally does not act on one's lusts. One does not abandon one's own wife when she grows older to take a woman who would otherwise go to a younger man. One does not raid the marriages of others. Thus a balance is maintained, and each generation gets its only true sexual rights: the right to a wife or husband and the right to participate in the future of the race through children.

This "is not a ruthlessly strict system," Gilder notes. Some small number of divorces are inevitable. But he warns that "the essential rules are necessary to a just and democratic society. A breakdown in the sexual order will bring social ills and injustices far more grievous than the usual inequalities of money and power."

There have been utopian experiments in sexual freedom throughout human history, with results ranging from painful failure to explosive collapse. From the Oneida Community (which practiced a complex communal marriage in mid-1800s New York) to the early twentieth-century Israeli kibbutzniks (who were deliberately promiscuous out of antipathy for the bourgeois family), the verdict has been consistent: societies lacking expectations of sexual fidelity are quickly split by dangerous rivalries and divisions. On the kibbutz, for instance, extra-marital sexuality quickly proved so unsettling and destructive to the community that it had to be squelched. Adultery was severely censured and subsequently became quite rare. Adolescent and other non-marital sex was also soon discouraged on the kibbutz. (Our article beginning on page 52 has more on the kibbutzniks and Oneidans, in other contexts.)

The preference for monogamy thus seems to be a kind of Iron Rule of human culture. Even in today's hyper-liberated America, the instinct retains a powerful grip on us: The data in INDICATORS show that the proportion of married people having sexual relations beyond the marital boundary is only a few percent a year.

If that comes as a surprise, it's because the national images projected by Hollywood are so contrary. The danger of course is that this imagery becomes self-fulfilling. Cultural portrayals of married life do matter: Margaret Mead once observed that no society exists anywhere in the world in which people stay married without enormous community encouragement and pressure to do so. In every human system there will be sociopaths, and deadbeats, and just plain selfish folks, and society must have ways of holding those individuals accountable for their bounced checks, discarded obligations and abandoned family members. As Michael Medved notes in his wonderful essay on page 47, there are multiple stakeholders in every marriage—including the other spouse, his or her family, and sometimes children—so deserting one's vows is more than just a private matter.

For this reason, the aim of society and civil law has traditionally been to protect marriage. Until recently, that is. Today, our family laws and informal culture work to ease marital dissolution rather than discourage it. The consequences are often pitiful to behold.

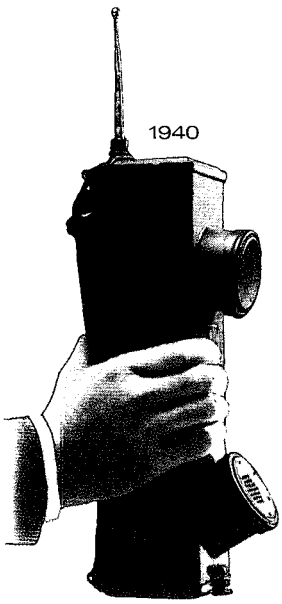
Take, for instance, the newlyweds behind that "Smash Monogamy" cake. They eventually gave up playing Comrade Housemate and went their separate ways. We may hope they learned something useful from their crack-up and are now at peace. But unfortunately their recklessness touched lives other than their own. You see, this throwaway marriage left "in its rubble, a pair of pathetic children." Collier reports he still sees them occasionally, "walking around Berkeley looking like the survivors of an airplane disaster."

The longstanding essence of legal marriage has been to provide security for children—to "fix the obligation" toward such offspring as may result from a sexual union. Our current generation has junked this traditional understanding, and the result is that, as William Raspberry says, "our children are less happy, less healthy and less secure than we were."

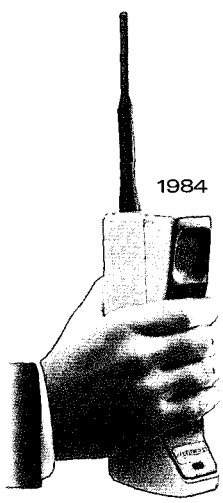
That's a scandal. It's our own fault. And it can be fixed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

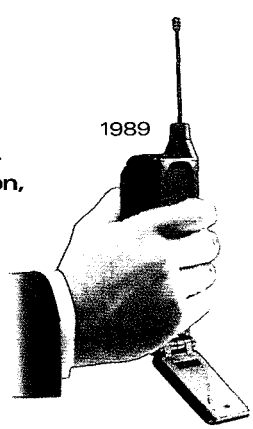
The people who introduced



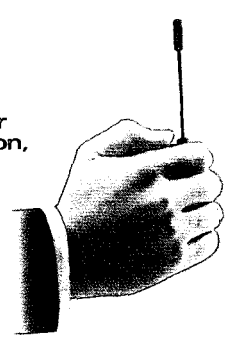
hand-held wireless communication,



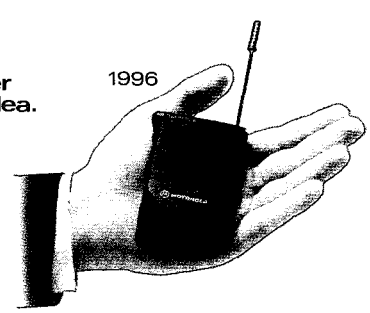
and portable cellular communication,



and personal cellular communication,



had another little idea.



Introducing the StarTAC™ wearable cellular phone.

It's the next revolution in cellular technology.

The world's first wearable cellular telephone. It's the lightest, smallest cellular phone, weighing as little as 3.1 ounces and just 3.7 inches long. The StarTAC wearable phone can be folded in half and slipped neatly into a shirt pocket. Plus, like every other Motorola cellular phone, it's engineered to endure those bumps and bounces. The StarTAC wearable cellular phone. A new product category. From Motorola, of course.

MOTOROLA

What you never thought possible.™

Ⓜ, Motorola and StarTAC are trademarks of Motorola, Inc. ©1996 Motorola, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

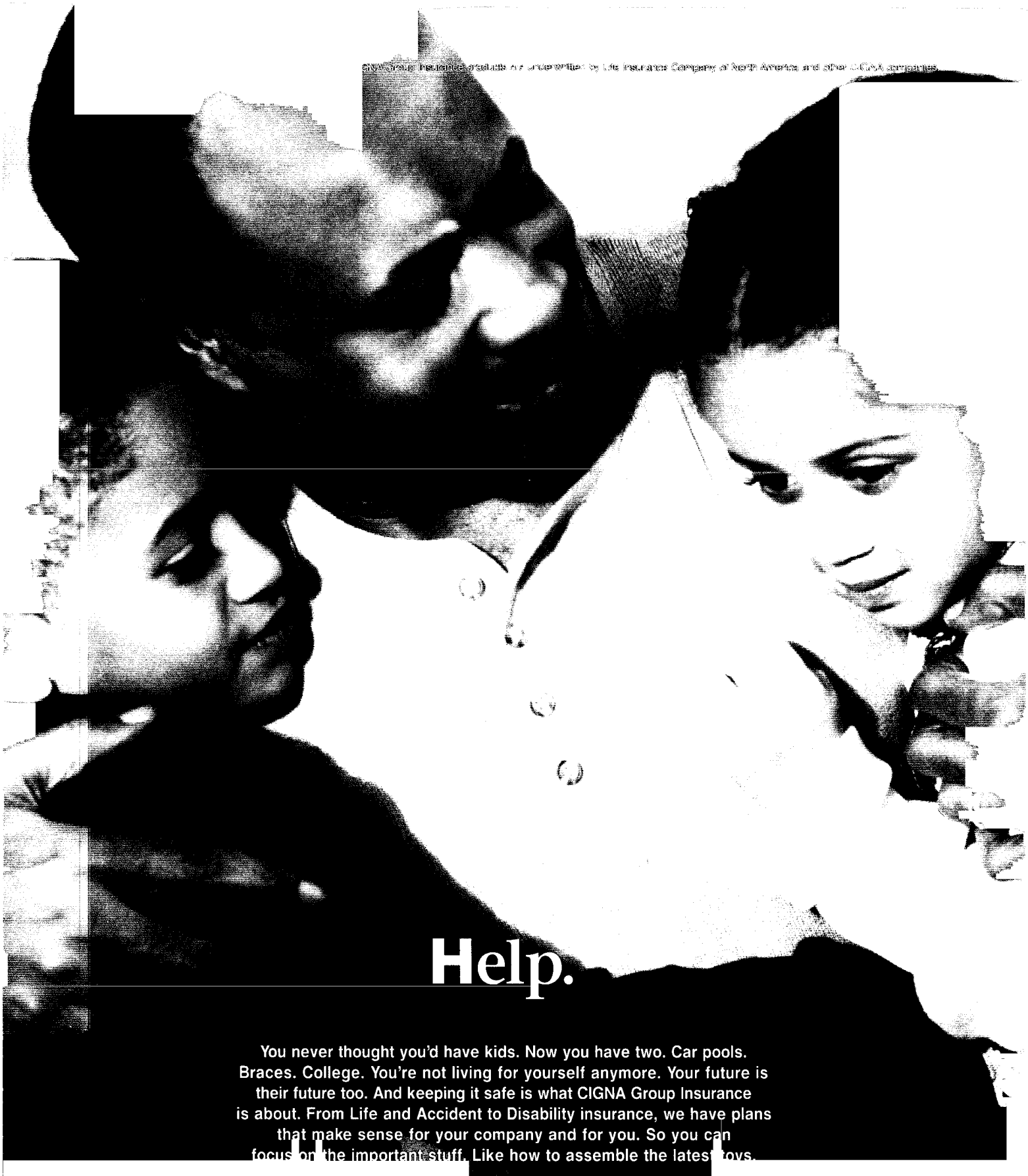
In his infamous address to the Radio and TV Correspondents' Dinner, shock jock **Don Imus** wondered why "60 Minutes" didn't just hire **Florence King** herself as a commentator, instead of columnist **Molly Ivins**. In fact, "60 Minutes" did ask both women—who tangled over plagiarism charges in these pages last year—to revive the "Point-Counterpoint" segment previously done by **Shana Alexander** and **James Kilpatrick**, but King declined. ❧ Government environmentalists in Brazil sought to ban an ad campaign in which chimpanzees drive jeeps with bikini-clad women while guzzling beer and soft drinks: "Driving a car and drinking beer or soda is not a monkey's natural habitat," groused **Lilian Daher**. · · · "If You're Hungry and Out of Work, Eat an Environmentalist," a new bumper sticker says. · · · In other naturalist news, over 150 members of the Christian Nudist Fellowship met for an *au naturel* weekend at a North Carolina beach; the "conservative group" forbade partying and public displays of affection. ❧ Nouvelle Puritanism is taking a beating: the American College of Physicians announced that cholesterol tests for young persons are unnecessary and two studies of caffeine suggest that drinking coffee helps prepare your heart for exercise, as well as reducing women's risk of suicide. · · · Meanwhile, vices like gin-drinking and cigar-smoking become chic. One prominent jeweler now sells a woman's ring designed to look like a cigar band. ❧ Two emerging trends hint that baby-boomers' anti-family self-absorption may be a limited aberration: Older couples are starting to find they want more kids, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, while young career women have begun to marry earlier. "It's kind of a '50s mentality," one young wife explains, "but it's what feels natural, normal, rational for us." · · · At *New Yorker* editor **Tina Brown**'s luncheon on "Issues Affecting Women Today," the magazine maven said she regretted not taking more time off when her children were born. ❧ **Loretta Jorge** is seeking custody of twins born to another woman from Ms. Jorge's eggs, which were allegedly stolen from a fertility clinic where 30 former patients charge their ova were implanted in women without their permission. · · · It received little press notice, but in the primaries **Bob Dole** promised that if elected he will declare his first day in office "American Family Day," on which he will rescind every pro-abortion executive order of his predecessor, reject federal approval of abortion drugs, end foreign aid for abortion programs, and prohibit federal funding of experiments on human embryos.

Researcher **Lucia O'Sullivan** says surveys by her and others show that a "general bias" exists against both men and women who are seen as sexually promiscuous, and that most of us still accept the traditional sexual roles of men as initiators and women as moderators. · · · The National Bureau of Economic Research found that of middle-aged women with successful careers, half were childless, while under 20 percent of women with children had achieved professional success comparable to men. ❧ What Media Bias? "Just as President **Clinton** has rebounded in the polls, put the Republican Whitewater witchhunt behind him, you decide to challenge him. Isn't your candidacy rather divisive?" ABC anchor **Peter Jennings** asked Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole. ❧ *The Beardstown Ladies' Common-sense Investment Guide,* written by the famous Illinois women's club that swaps recipes and stock picks, has been translated into Japanese—even though a similar group in that country would be required to buy a $10 million mutual-fund license. · · · UPS said it would invest $400 million in a new Asian hub to be located in Taiwan. The company's Tokyo hub also won rights for crucial additional flights there. ❧ Disability activists are at loggerheads as deaf activists demand strobe-light fire alarms be required by law, but epileptic representatives say these will give them seizures. Meanwhile, wheel-chair advocates insist on low-set automated teller machines that blind activists say wouldn't work for them. · · · Immigrants from India, Chile, and Hungary have petitioned the U.S. Congress to declare English the nation's official language. · · · In 1983 Miami fireman **Freddie Hernandez** rejected an affirmative-action promotion to lieutenant. The price of his honor was $4,500 a year in forgone pay for three years and 900 hours of study to attain the required test results. ❧ After spending $3 billion, mostly for a costly subway, total public transportation use in L.A. is down 20 percent since 1985. **Tim Ferguson** of *Forbes* reports that the Metropolitan Transit Authority's headquarters has one employee for every ten train or bus riders. · · · Since Republicans captured the governorships of New York and New Jersey, the Port Authority for the two states has let hundreds of mid-level bureaucrats go and sold off the World Trade Center's Vista Hotel, with sale of the rest of the Trade Center being studied. · · · 1995 saw a "total absence of large tax increases" by state governments, the Center for the Study of the States reports.

Rep. **Mark Foley** (R-Fl.) said a young woman in his district told him, "I am 22. I have five children. I am not married. The welfare system has encouraged me to stay in the welfare system and have babies." ❧ After catching his wife sending X-rated e-mail to an electronic suitor named **Weasel**, New Jerseyan **John Goydan** has filed for divorce. · · · "We do get some people with cold feet," says **Eric Diaz**, whose Rent-a-Center store lends wedding rings to uncertain suitors. Twenty-five of the 75 rings rented in 1995 were returned.

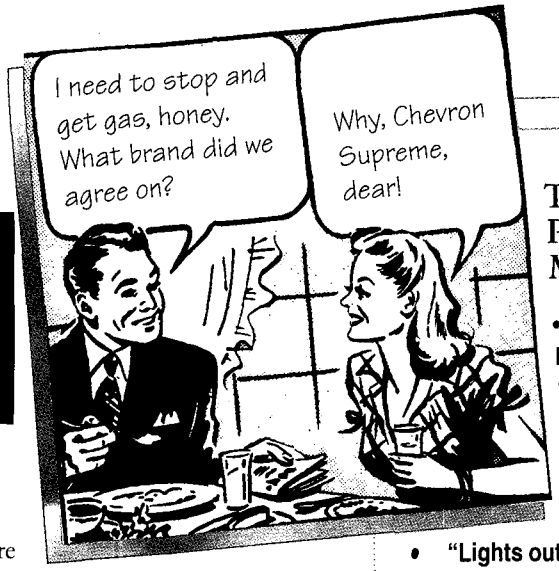
—SW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCAN



THE FULLY PLANNED MARRIAGE

- **"We will engage in healthy sex three to five times a week."**
- **"Nothing will be left on the floor overnight—unless packing for a trip."**
- **"Lights out by 11:30 p.m. Wake up 6:30 a.m., Monday through Friday."**
- **Gas to be bought: Chevron Supreme.**
- **"Inside house chores, including laundry," are the wife's duty.**
- **Husband responsible for maintaining the "outside of the house, including the garage, cars, and inside repairs."**

—From the 4 1/2-page pre-nuptial agreement written by Rex and Teresa LeGalley (who are on their third and second marriages, respectively).

THE MARRIAGE-CRIME CONNECTION

The collapse of the American family is not only a tragedy for children, it is a problem on which quite a lot in American life depends—perhaps even the fate of our civilization. Among many other public problems, crime rates are directly tied to family decay. Almost everything that society does to respond to crime today amounts to an attempt to fix what the criminal's family failed to do.

A large majority of violent criminals come from fatherless homes. A Detroit study found that about 70 percent of juvenile killers did not live with both parents. A study of seriously delinquent girls in California showed 93 percent came from broken homes. A survey of juvenile delinquents in custody in Wisconsin found that fewer than one-sixth grew up in intact families; over two-fifths were illegitimate. Sixty percent of rapists had single parents (or none). Says one California juvenile counselor, "You find a gang member who comes from a complete nuclear family…I'd like to meet him."

Exactly how illegitimacy leads to crime is not fully understood. Some suggest that the absence of adult males to teach boys how to become men leads to senseless aggressiveness aimed at demonstrating masculinity. Others say that without a provider and helper the single parent is unable to supervise the child enough. Another theory is that abandonment damages the child's self-image.

William Niskanen, chairman of the Cato Institute, notes that most of the influences on crime rates have not changed much since 1960. Neither male unemployment, nor poverty, nor changes in church attendance, nor urbanization trends are adequate to explain today's predation. In fact, there are many influences that ought to be *depressing* crime—since 1960, for instance, real income per capita has doubled, and so has the number of police per capita. The one condition that has substantially worsened, Niskanen points out, is the percentage of births to single mothers, increasing from five percent in 1960 to well over 30 percent today.

There is also a more immediate association between illegitimacy and crime: males who are unwed are a lot more likely to commit crimes than married men.

The decline of marriage thus creates concentric rings of crime problems. The illegitimate children are the first victims, the last are the persons murdered, robbed, and raped by some of those children when they grow up.

Though the issue is contested, many researchers believe there is a direct link between welfare and illegitimacy, and therefore a long-run link between welfare and crime. For example, a study by M. Anne Hill and June O'Neill (currently director of the Congressional Budget Office) found that a 50 percent increase in AFDC and food stamp benefits led to a 75 percent increase in the number of women enrolling in these programs, a sharp rise in the number of years spent on AFDC, a 43 percent increase in the number of out-of-wedlock births, and a 117 percent increase in crimes perpetrated by young black males. Researchers from the University of Washington found that a difference of $228 in monthly welfare benefits more than doubled a white teenager's probability of bearing an illegitimate child. Other U.S. and Canadian investigations show that even small increases in welfare benefits raise the odds of women going on welfare and becoming single parents. Roughly half the increase in black illegitimacy since the mid-1960s can be attributed to increased welfare benefits and easier eligibility standards, according to Hill and O'Neill.

Besides promoting illegitimacy, welfare discourages marriage. A Cornell University researcher found that a 10 percent increase in AFDC benefits led to an 8 percent decrease in marriages by single mothers. Anything that discourages marriage perpetuates poverty, since marriage is the single most important way in which women move off welfare.

Wasting trillions of tax dollars is the least of the sins of welfare. By paying people to engage in destructive behaviors, welfare hurts those individuals it purports to aid, and damages society at large as well—whether in the form of schools disrupted by uncontrollable children, or crime victims injured by violence.

—Dave Kopel is research director of Colorado's Independence Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CORPORATE SPOUSE-EQUIVALENT

What do AT&T, Levi Strauss, Time Warner, Disney, Sony Pictures, Ben and Jerry's, US West, Apple Computer, Microsoft, Lotus, Xerox, *Time,* the *Boston Globe,* the *New York Times,* and the Covington & Burling law firm have in common? They all give at least some measure of domestic benefits to the unmarried partners of their employees.

One doesn't normally think of big corporations as pioneering sharp breaks in social policy and cultural practice, but on the issue of extending "family benefits" to gay and straight live-in partners of employees, a handful of businessmen have led the march. Several score of big corporations have beaten even universities and liberal city governments (the traditional stalwarts of the social advance guard) to the barricades on this issue.

At some companies the policy has been inspired by pressure from gay employees capitalizing on the possibility of expensive lawsuits, as local "human rights commissions" and city councilors work to extend "discrimination" protections to "sexual orientation." Other companies have acted in fear of the wrath of affluent gay consumers. Even corporations who have traditionally supported conservative causes have joined this trend. Coors Brewing recently started offering spousal benefits after gay groups announced boycotts.

The most pervasive reason for extending benefits to "spouse-equivalents" is a politically correct notion of "fairness." When International Data Group in Massachusetts implemented the change, its director of benefits explained that by excluding unmarried partners of employees "you are in some way invalidating that kind of relationship," and companies "should not penalize employees for lifestyle choices."

But of course the point of family benefits is not to "penalize" anyone. It's to partly compensate families for their costs incurred in childrearing—a cost paid especially by women. Employment benefits are a way of recognizing that married women and men are doing more than just expressing private "lifestyle choices," they're maintaining an institution—the childrearing family—that fulfills a crucial social function.

By extending spousal benefits to unmarried partners, corporate America in effect says that a married spouse is no different from any other kind of lover, that marriage is merely one more household arrangement. What's family-friendly about that?

—Nancy Pearcey is a writer living in Annandale, Virginia.

SO LONG, FAMILY HOUR . . .

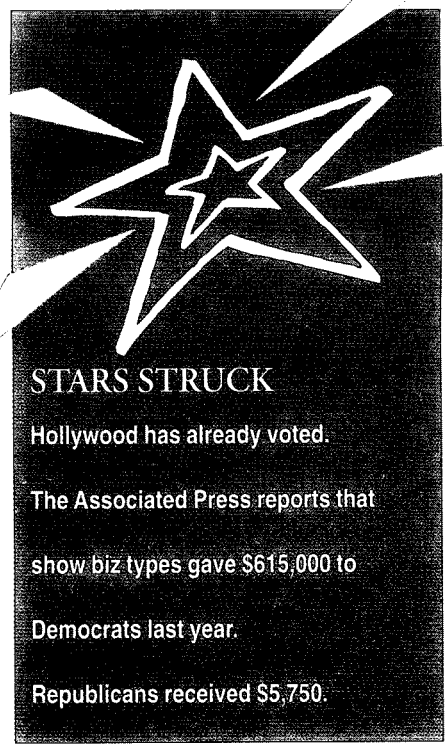
Until recently, television networks made it a point to air relatively wholesome programs between the hours of eight and nine o'clock at night. Lately, however, most networks have replaced the Family Hour with the Nitwit Hour. Searching for the unsupervised adolescent consumers whom advertisers love, early evening lineups now feature the dysfunctional families of Fox's "Married...with Children" and ABC's "Roseanne." Vulgarity abounds, with words like *ass, bastard,* and *bitch* now routinely bandied about on the air. Premarital sex and homosexuality get positive portrayals (scenes of premarital sex now outnumber incidents of sex within marriage by eight to one).

According to Brent Bozell of the Media Research Center, this is not playing well in Peoria. "Survey after survey reflects viewer discontent, and studies have illustrated the defection of audiences to cable programming such as Nickelodeon and the Family Channel." Private groups, over 50 members of Congress, and many consumers are now urging broadcasters to restore the voluntary boundaries of the Family Hour.

Of course, Americans could also buy chessboards, some good books, and start a new family hour tradition. Someday your kids may thank you for it.

. . . HELLO FAMILY READING

One of the fastest growing niches in book publishing today is works written for children on religious themes. "Just 10 years ago, children's books with...overt religious, biblical, or spiritual themes would never have been published, let alone acknowledged as best sellers," the *New York Times* recently noted. Yet in 1994 more than 20 million books were sold in the "juvenile spiritual and religious" category, up from 15 million the year before. The increase seems to be fueled by new interest in religion among baby-boomer parents and grandparents.



IN WHOSE BEST INTEREST?

Matthew was born with syphilis, crack-addicted, and suffering from a liver disorder, all as a result of his young mother's drug and alcohol abuse. He was the fifth of eight children, almost all of whom were born with disorders relating to substance abuse, and all of whom—except for two sets of twins—had different fathers.

Because the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services was responsible for Matthew's siblings, Matthew was born into state custody. When he was nine days old, he was placed in the care of Lou Ann and Scott Mullen of Lexington, Texas, veteran foster parents with an excellent record. The Mullens are a multi-racial family: she is Native American, he is "Anglo." In addition to their biological daughter, the Mullens care for Lou Ann's step-siblings from Mexico, an adopted former foster child (an eight-year-old biracial girl adopted through a private agency), and several African-American foster children.

The Mullens immediately fell in love

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Matthew. They spent many late nights comforting him as his underdeveloped body overcame the drug addiction. When he was a month old, Lou Ann first told state social workers that they wanted to adopt him. "Don't even think about it," the social workers replied, for Matthew was black and the Mullens were not.

Many state adoption agencies currently follow a practice known as "race-matching" to deny black babies permanent homes with non-black adoptive parents. The practice has been demanded by the National Association of Black Social Workers, which justifies it on the grounds that individuals only develop a healthy sense of identity and self-esteem if they are raised by people who look like them—a proposition not only unsupported by any empirical research but actually debunked by contrary evidence. Race-matching disproportionately harms non-white children, because well over half of the children needing adoption today are black, while most available adoptive families are white. For children denied placement in a home because the potential parents are of the "wrong" race, the only alternative is to remain in foster care, where many languish for years.

Of course, Matthew was black when he arrived at the Mullens' doorstep as a foster baby, and he remained so during the nearly two years the state left him there. (Was a two-year posting for some reason not "harmful to self-esteem" where a permanent adoption would be?) During this period, Matthew's brother Joseph, then five, was living with another foster family. Officials claimed they wanted to place the boys for adoption together. Yet they never tried to place them together in the same foster home, despite Lou Ann's request. Instead, after several fruitless searches, social workers found an African-American home to adopt the boys. They removed Matthew from the Mullens and Joseph from his foster home, placing them with strangers while simultaneously warning Lou Ann not to attempt any contact with Matthew. The Mullens were devastated and felt as if there had been a death in the family.

Within seven weeks the adoptive family had a change of mind, and Matthew and Joseph were returned to state custody. Rather than send Matthew back to the Mullens along with Joseph, officials chose to place the boys in foster care with a new African-American family. Meanwhile, the Mullens were asking to *adopt* both boys, an offer the department refused on the boys' behalf, "for their culture."

Because no other families were interested in the brothers, the state began placing pictures of Matthew and Joseph in newspapers and on television shortly after the Mullens asked to adopt. In April 1995, the Institute for Justice filed suit on behalf of Matthew and Joseph and all adoptable minority children in custody of the state of Texas. Our lawsuit argues that the state's use of race to keep these children out of homes that want them is a violation of their constitutional right to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Sadly, the story of Matthew and Joseph recurs thousands of times over every year, in state after state. Regardless of what a particular state's law says about the permissible use of race to decide adoptive placements, agency practice—usually informal—is shockingly similar to the Texas practices described here.

Americans do not tolerate state-sponsored discrimination in other areas of their lives. Why should they do so in cases involving children in state care?

—Donna G. Matias is an attorney at the Institute for Justice, a Washington, D.C. public-interest law center.

HILLARY FACES A SKEPTICAL MEDIA

"How do you get across the message that we all need to see everybody's kids as our own, we need to have more programs, the government needs to be more involved?"

—"Today" host Maria Shriver questioning Hillary Rodham Clinton on January 16. During the interview she characterized the First Lady's new book as "really terrific" and "terrific." (For another view, see Florence King's review in BOOK TALK, page 78.)

ANNULLING GAY MARRIAGE?

Until recently, the betting was that gay activists would soon force acceptance of gay marriage on the nation via a court case in Hawaii (see our May/June 1995 issue, "Gay Marriage in 1996?"). Now serious opposition has begun to arise.

Polling data indicate overwhelming support for the traditional understanding of marriage, and opponents of gay marriage have begun to organize. At last count, 24 state legislatures were considering laws specifically declaring that the privileges of matrimony apply exclusively to unions of males and females within their states. Bills have already been signed into law in three states, and have passed one house in at least nine others. More states are likely to follow suit soon.

Political opposition is also rising in Congress. Draft legislation is now circulating in both chambers to make clear that the word *marriage* as used in federal law shall be restricted to the traditional meaning. Among other things, backers want to warn the judiciary that this is an issue which should be resolved by elected representatives, not unaccountable judges.

DON'T DIVIDE THE HOUSE

Many Republicans now seem to understand this, but it bears repeating: One reason the presidential campaigns of smart economic conservatives like Phil Gramm and Steve Forbes never took off is because they too often displayed a tin ear for the importance of social issues (and social conservatives). Family breakdown, the decay in popular culture, denials of religious liberty—these are not secondary themes. They are the nation's gravest long-term problems.

Unfortunately, some talented social conservatives have tin ears of their own, as demonstrated by a few appalling flirtations during the just-completed primary season with discredited, dangerous, and highly statist economic nostrums. The normally savvy Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council wrote an article for the March issue of *Focus on the Family*, James Dobson's excellent high-circulation magazine, saying: "No policy position should go unquestioned, and I find myself asking whether the free-trade mantra is being

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

used to play American families for suckers." A sidebar asks readers to "work to protect American workers from competition by slave laborers" abroad. And there is a whiff of the Jesse Jackson/Ralph Nader cologne in Bauer's claim that "too often, our system seems to tilt toward multinational corporations." The only thing missing here is an attack on the flat tax for "favoring millionaires." But then plenty of *other* Republicans did that work for the Democrats this winter.

One of the responsibilities of being a majority coalition is listening carefully to what's important to your coalition partners. Far more importantly, one of the responsibilities of redirecting a society is to make sure you shove and nudge thoughtfully. Any Republican taking a ride today on the America-is-unfair, capitalism-is-rapacious, economic-competition-hurts hobbyhorse is definitely not thinking, or looking at history.

PAT BUCHANAN ON THE COUCH

It is always tempting to call people we disagree with "sick" instead of challenging their views. Apparently *The New Republic* senior editor Charles Lane feels no obligation to even try to resist the temptation. In the *New York Review of Books* a year and a half ago, he explored the "tainted" arguments about intelligence presented by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein. And then in January he argued in *The New Republic* that behind the unsettling politics of candidate Pat Buchanan lies a damaged personality.

In his article entitled "Daddy's Boy," Lane treats us to speculation about how an "authoritarian personality was born in Chevy Chase, Maryland." Buchanan holds prejudiced views and takes isolationist positions, according to Lane, because he had (of course!) a brutal rearing under a religiously fanatical father. The elder Buchanan was "an unquestioning follower of the Catholic Church," and taught his son to admire "such pugnacious defenders of the Faith against Communism as Francisco Franco and Joe McCarthy."

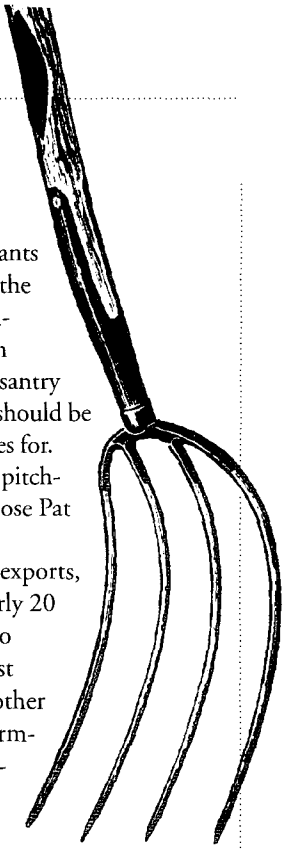
Much in Lane's account of Buchanan's upbringing and career is inaccurate or based on faulty association. For example, Lane tries to prove that "the N-word was not out of bounds in the Buchanan milieu" by citing a memorandum written by Buchanan which refers to Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko as the "house-nigger of the Politburo." The term can easily be understood, however, without reading racial disparagement into it. Lane also states that Buchanan probably told ethnic jokes about Jews. Unless he is terminally P.C., Lane no doubt does the same. Lane admits the Buchanans had long and close friendships with their Jewish neighbors, and that it would be hard to demonstrate that the family was anti-Semitic, except for one revealing fact: The elder Buchanan backed the "America First" movement before America's entry into World War II, and a spokesman for that isolationist group, Charles Lindbergh, "was notorious as an apologist for Nazi Germany."

Of course there were many others beside Lindbergh and the elder Buchanan associated with America First. Among these were such impeccable left-liberals as Chester Bowles and Norman Thomas. And contrary to Lane's assertion, Lindbergh, though mostly blind to the Nazi danger, was not an anti-Semite, a point the historian Justus Doenecke demonstrates in his studies of America First.

More puzzling than the judgment made of Buchanan's father, however, is Lane's attempt to relate the son's isolationism and opposition to government expansion to a brutal, authoritarian nature. Are we to believe that Buchanan expresses constitutional reservations about FDR's federal overreach because of an authoritarian personality? That he opposes the American military presence in Bosnia because of his brutal nature? Buchanan may be right or wrong on both of these points, but the matter should be settled through reasoned argument, not long-distance amateur psychoanalysis.

What is most striking about Lane's presentation is its pseudoscientific character. It is one thing to disagree with or dislike a politician. It is quite another to raise suspicions about his mental balance—or to treat his failure to agree with one's views as indicative of illness.

—Paul Gottfried is professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College.



SOME PEASANTS LIKE FREE TRADE

Webster defines peasants as "...persons tilling the soil as small landowners...." Pat Buchanan wants to arm the peasantry with pitchforks. Pat should be careful what he wishes for. Peasants armed with pitchforks might well choose Pat as their target.

U.S. agricultural exports, which increased nearly 20 percent from 1994 to 1995, set a record last year, and will set another one in 1996. Our farmers are currently running a $30 billion trade surplus with the rest of the world. Thanks to exports, the American peasantry is enjoying a level of prosperity unequaled in a generation.

Buchanan has probably visited a closed factory in each and every primary state, but he hasn't visited the farms that have failed because of government barriers that prevent our farm surpluses from being sold abroad. Consolidation in agriculture began with the advent of modern technology, but protectionism would certainly speed up the loss of farms and farmers.

Buchanan would impose import tariffs on China and Japan. Those two countries currently buy $15 billion of U.S. agricultural exports. More importantly, the U.S. Department of Agriculture expects our agricultural exports to rise from $54 billion to $79 billion over the next ten years, with most of that growth going to the Asian countries that are protectionists' favorite targets. (Incidentally, today's farm exports, which depend heavily on science and mechanization for their production, should be viewed as high-tech exports, not lowly raw materials.) Imposing tariffs upon our trading partners will end our ag export boom and consign thousands of American farm homesteads to destruction.

Congress' latest farm bill is now in conference committee and will soon be sent to President Clinton for his signature. It ends the 60-year experiment we have conducted in government eco-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nomic planning in the agricultural sector. That will invigorate farming, reduce the federal bureaucracy, and eventually trim billions of dollars in government spending. Most farm groups are supporting this transition toward free-market agriculture. But if there is any hint of restrictions on our ability to sell what we raise overseas, you can expect a backlash from farmers. American growers are the most efficient in the world and can raise considerably more food than American consumers can use. Without foreign trade, farmers will remain wards of the state, with attendant costs to the American taxpayer.

As I write, Bob Dole, not Pat Buchanan, has become the Republican nominee. And it's clear that Buchanan's message of protectionism has not added to what success he enjoyed in the primaries. Few voters considered trade the most important issue, exit polls show, and Buchanan didn't even garner all those votes.

But protectionism will not die as an issue. Buchanan will (properly) have influence upon the Republican platform, and may argue for language that threatens trade. Although Bob Dole's support for free trade is long-standing, he has recently shown himself willing to make hay of his own on this subject. His new campaign policy aide Fred Steeper says this about trade: "There is no political base for free trade. Only college-educated people understand the benefits."

According to populist rhetoric, the benefits of free trade flow to Wall Street insiders and *Fortune* 500 executives. Yet, as a working farmer, I talk every day to people in overalls who pay their bills by selling their soybeans to the Japanese and their corn to the Chinese. Our future depends on politicians remembering that while victims are photogenic, the benefits of trade are spread throughout the economy.

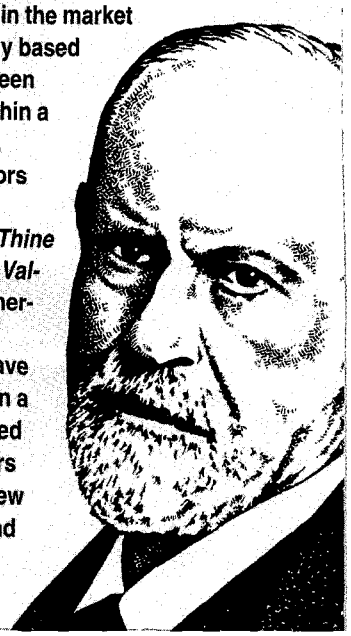
Although we traded in our pitchforks for tractors a long time ago, I still have a couple of sharp ones out in the shop. Just in case Pat Buchanan should come anywhere near.

—Blake Hurst lives more than 900 miles from Wall Street, where he grows corn, soybeans, and flowers on his midwestern family farm.

MOVE OVER, SIGMUND

On page 28, Michael McManus details the astonishing effectiveness of church-based marriage-saving programs. What he describes is actually part of a much bigger trend toward religion-centered counseling and therapy. Within the market for mental health services, a big shift toward religiously based counseling is currently taking place—because it has been found that programs and practitioners that operate within a spiritual framework tend to be the most effective ones.

The American Association of Christian Counselors has seen its membership rise from 751 in 1991 to over 14,000 in 1995, notes Dr. Lewis Andrews, author of *To Thine Own Self Be True: The Relationship Between Spiritual Values and Emotional Health*. He also notes that psychotherapists, psychiatrists, and psychologists are not happy about the new competition. The shift may ultimately have deep effects on American culture, Andrews suggests in a recent *Public Interest* article. Just as Freudians changed the nation's views of sex, and behavioral social workers re-shaped welfare programs, so the ripples from the new religious counseling movement could nudge minds and hearts far beyond those being counseled.



DETAILS, DETAILS

After Republicans in Congress voted in January to cut funds for foreign "population assistance" by 35 percent from the year before, the director of the U.N. Population Fund fumed to the *New York Times* this would mean 17-18 million unwanted pregnancies in the Third World. Nonsense, said demographers like Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute, pointing out that countries like Indonesia would have to *double* their population growth in one year for the U.N. arithmetic to work. As the debate warmed, the *Washington Post* indignantly editorialized that "the exact numbers don't matter." Hmm.

O.J.'S SELFLESS SCHOLAR-ADVOCATE

Harvard law professor and celebrity defense attorney Alan Dershowitz writes in his new book about the O. J. Simpson case that "I have several criteria for accepting a case. Among them are whether I can use the case in my teaching, whether I can make effective use of my students (whom I pay out of my own pocket), whether it fits into my teaching schedule (since I do not cancel classes), and whether my academic skills will add a dimension to the case."

As for money and publicity—perish the thought.

THE CHARITABLE REVOLVING DOOR

One of the worst aspects of the welfare state is that it undermines families, churches, and neighborhood organizations—the so-called "mediating structures" so important to civil society. That is widely understood today. But 20 years ago when Peter Berger and Richard John Neuhaus wrote a little book called *To Empower People,* published by the American Enterprise Institute, that was a brand new argument.

Now this influential essay has been reissued in a revised and expanded edition that includes commentary from leading thinkers like Marvin Olasky, Robert Woodson, and Michael Novak. At an AEI conference marking the book's publication, Berger and Neuhaus both said they doubt government's capacity to solve social problems even more today than they did two decades ago. What's more, several panelists noted, many big, nonprofit groups have developed a version of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same community-, and family-, and individual responsibility-obliterating sickness that afflicts government welfare. Heavily dependent on government funds that pay the salaries of their "helping professionals," bureaucratic private charities lobby hard against any changes in the status quo.

Michael Horowitz of the Hudson Institute noted that when he was in the Reagan administration, "I saw endless numbers of Health and Human Services staffers recycling themselves as executive directors of nonprofit organizations," from which they would then denounce welfare reforms. Bradley Foundation chairman Michael Joyce suggested that nonprofit groups who want to fight poverty should stop thinking of themselves as "a farm club for the government major league."

THE REAL PRIZE

While all eyes focus on the presidential race, veteran political activist Paul Weyrich urges small government advocates to shift their gaze to another set of elections that are "far more important": the contests for control of the U.S. Congress. "Many of the Republicans who won in 1994 barely made it," he notes, and unions, environmentalists, and others on the left are mobilizing in unprecedented ways to unseat vulnerable freshmen Republicans. Unions, for instance, are planning to spend four times as much on congressional races in 1996 as they did in 1994. "If many of the House freshmen are wiped out," warns Weyrich, "we can kiss good-bye any opportunity to get our run-away government under control."

JUDICIAL TYRANNY IN NEBRASKA

The Nebraska Supreme Court apparently doesn't like the way Nebraska's elected legislature writes laws; so it has decided to make up its own. In *Ryan* v. *Nebraska,* the Court actually declared that it may "put words in a statute as if it had been so amended by the legislature"—which inspired Nebraska Attorney General Don Stenberg to wonder in a blistering brief "why we need a legislature at all."

The *Ryan* decision is the latest in a series of clashes between Nebraska's Supreme Court and its unicameral legislature. The struggle stems from the legislature's redefinition of second-degree murder in the late 1970s, when it removed the requirement for malice. Instead of ruling upon the constitutionality of the new law, the Court has simply rewritten it to fit its own definition of second-degree murder. Nebraskans are steamed that the Court has, in effect, declared itself a legislative body—not least because one effect of its action has been to overturn 130 murder convictions dating back 15 years. Several convicted murders will soon be on the streets.

The Dennis Ryan on whose behalf the Court has intervened was a member of a survivalist cult located near Rulo, Nebraska. His father was leader of the cult, and is presently on death row after his conviction for the murder of one of the cult's members, James Thimm. Dennis Ryan was convicted as an accomplice. Over a two-day period, Thimm was beaten, shot, sexually abused, and finally skinned alive using a razor and pliers. Dennis bragged about his role in the horrific murder, telling an acquaintance that it "was kind of neat that he had helped kill somebody." Rural Richardson County, where the murder and trial took place, exhausted its financial resources convicting Ryan and will probably be unable to afford the cost of a new trial. In all likelihood, Ryan will plead guilty to manslaughter and leave prison much sooner than his life imprisonment for second-degree murder would have allowed.

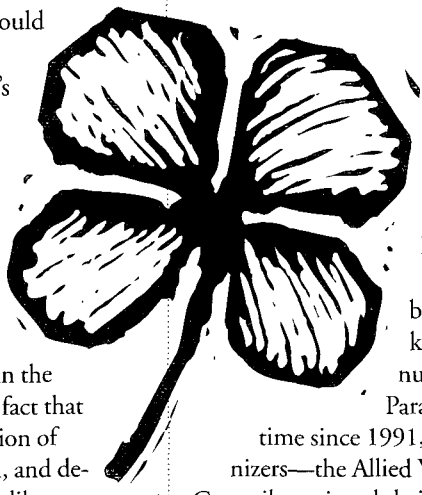
The state Supreme Court's narrow 4-3 majority opinion (unsigned, and not without reason) grasps at straws. It claims that absent a requirement of malice, Nebraska's current second-degree murder statute would require conviction of even police officers who kill in the line of duty. This despite the fact that the legislature adopted a section of law dealing with justification, and despite the fact that other states like New York also have second-degree murder laws that do not mention malice.

The legislature removed malice from the definition of second-degree murder for specific reasons outlined in the legislative history of the bill. The inspiration for the state Supreme Court's intrusion here is simply that four of its justices don't agree with the legislators' reasons. But as state Attorney General Stenberg points out, the Nebraska Constitution grants the legislature the power to define all crimes in the state. The Court's ruling is thus pure judicial imperialism.

Nebraska would be the last place one would expect to find judges with no respect for the democratic process, the state constitution, or the law. Outside of their obsession with the University of Nebraska football team, Nebraskans tend to be a sensible lot. But the confusion of judging with lawmaking is a ubiquitous problem across the United States.

In response to the *Ryan* decision, Nebraska's Attorney General is calling for a constitutional amendment to limit the terms of Supreme Court members. Others have called for impeachment proceedings. Meanwhile, the *Omaha World Herald* recently reported that the number of candidates for the legislature has dropped. One wonders whether some state residents, recognizing the extent to which a handful of judges are making the elected government superfluous, have decided to enroll in law school instead of taking to the hustings.

—Missourian Blake Hurst is a regular contributor to **The American Enterprise.**



FREED FROM BOSTON'S JUDGES

Freedom of speech returned to Boston on March 17, when the parade marshal blew his whistle and kicked off the annual St. Patrick's Day Parade. For the first time since 1991, the parade's organizers—the Allied War Veterans Council—enjoyed their constitutional right to decide who is invited to march in their event. Gone were the politically correct shackles imposed on the parade's invitation list by some Massachusetts judges.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

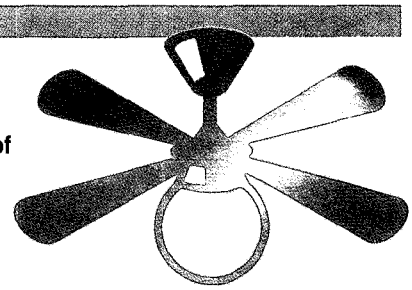
In 1992, the Irish-American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group of Boston (GLIB) demanded to be included in the veterans' St. Pat's parade. The veterans resisted, not wanting to compromise their event's family values message. The Massachusetts courts ordered that GLIB be present. Homosexual marchers took part in both the 1992 and 1993 parades. In 1994, the veterans canceled rather than include them. But in 1996, all was as before. No unwanted protesters, just a simple parade honoring St. Patrick and the evacuation of Boston by the British in 1776.

This return to normality did not come easily. The sponsors of the parade had to undergo five exhausting, discouraging, costly years of court appeals, nearly bankrupting the veterans and their attorney, Chester Darling. But at last the judicial tyranny of the Massachusetts courts was undone. In June 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court voted unanimously in favor of the veterans, citing free speech rights. U.S. Supreme Court Justice David Souter wrote for the Court, "The issue in this case is whether Massachusetts may require private citizens who organize a parade to include among the marchers a group imparting a message the organizers do not wish to convey. We hold that such a mandate violates the First Amendment."

It sounds simple. But it nearly didn't happen.

—Larry Overlan is president of the New England Institute for Public Policy.

INTERIOR DESIGNS



Stan Edwards, a Chicago painter who is a critic of government funding of artists, recently testified before the National Conference of State Legislatures. He said his favorite state arts grant, in the amount of $10,000, went to one Jacqueline Foster "to teach inner-city residents the fundamentals of interior design so that they could make improvements in their homes."

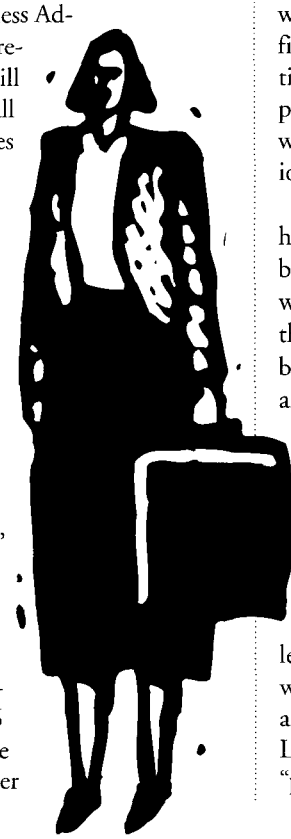
We expect some savvy performance artist will soon win a government grant to stage a fox hunt in Appalachia.

WOMEN AND THE MANY VARIETIES OF SUCCESS

Amidst the feminist hullabaloo over "glass ceilings" in American businesses, a recent survey of almost 900 small- and mid-sized companies by management consultant George S. May International found that in nearly 50 percent of those businesses it is "highly" or "somewhat" likely that the company's next CEO will be a woman.

Experts have been telling us for some time that it takes the average man 20 years to become general manager, 25 years to become president, and 30 years to become CEO—assuming he has the personal and professional qualities to make it in the first place. Since women have only been pursuing corporate jobs in large numbers for about two decades, only the unrealistic would expect women to begin surfacing at the top in large numbers before the twenty-first century.

Of course only those women who have pursued intense, unbroken, full-time careers are likely to be in the CEO pool at all (as with men). And this waiting, drudging game isn't for everyone. Many women seem to prefer other paths.



The Small Business Administration now predicts that women will own 40 percent of all U.S. small businesses by the year 2000. A recent survey from the National Foundation for Women Business Owners suggests that many of those women-run businesses are launched from homes. In 1994 there were 3.5 million women-owned, home-based businesses. In addition to providing employment for their owners, these enterprises employed 5.6 million other people full-time and another 8.4 million part-time. "Home-based" may sound unimpressive compared to the prestige of a major corporation, but today's small business can become tomorrow's major contender. Mrs. Field literally started her cookie business door-to-door.

Besides, success means different things to different people. Many women prize the flexibility a small business offers. Feminists have been telling us for years that women will only be satisfied when they fill corporate positions in exact proportion to their representation in the U.S. population. But does it really matter that women only make up five percent of senior managers at the *Fortune* 500?

Not only the corporate world but perhaps the business world in general should be cast aside as our ruler of success. Many women prefer to raise a family or work in their community rather than growing a business. One can stay out of the rat race and still work hard—and productively.

—Elizabeth Larson is a policy analyst on women's business issues for the Independent Women's Forum.

LEFT-WING MALE COMEDY

O.K., we admit it. We regularly read left-wing magazines. For one thing, while the logic in the leftish press is usually poor, the writing is often spritely. Lefties, after all, are stylish. Your average "progressive" writer has no kids, no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

money, no religion, no real job, but *style*...hey, that's a specialty. Movies, hip clothing, earring placements, haircuts, dance music, slang, health food crazes—these are arenas of boundless left-wing invention. Gotta give 'em that.

On the other hand, one place we're inclined to feel sorry for Lefties is on the carnal front. Judging by the pleading sex-oriented classifieds and the heavy splattering in the backs of most leftish magazines of ads peddling sex hardware, literary skin journals, massage potions, sex instruction videos, and erotic incenses, it appears the Left is working out some serious blockages in its collective sex life these days.

But to get back to magazines, it seems to us that one of the better reasons to read publications like *Mother Jones, In These Times,* and *The Nation* is pure comic relief. Take the March 3 edition of *In These Times,* a socialist bi-weekly. There is the obligatory Ralph Nader article, the usual union and environmentalist exposés, ranging in quality from sharp to goofy. There are tiny ads for everything from "Celebrate the New Year in Cuba!" to "Aborting Ourselves safely!...(send $5 & SASE to...)" to "Do you have spanking fantasies? We do—hundreds—and ours are for sale."

And then there are the victimization raps. These articles—the heart of left-wing journalism—are sad case histories that aim to make leftish readers indignant about "the system." For lots of us, though, these pieces are as likely to provoke giggles as snorts. Take the one on the troubles at Apple Computer. After beginning as a business story, it climaxes with the heart-rending claim that "the computerization of America has occasioned an epidemic of...crippling computer injuries—more than 250,000 a year and rising." Somehow we can't see the author of this article lasting long in a sod house on the Nebraska prairie circa 1880.

That same March 3 issue of *In These Times* closes with some entertaining sobbing by someone named Ken Rasak, whose by-line identifies him as "currently unemployed." "I'm an unknown and unsuccessful artist," he begins, proceeding to explain that that means he has had to demean himself frying chickens, loading beer coolers, and working at computer data entry. The cooler and fried-chicken jobs were physically harsh, Ken reports, and "prematurely aged my body, giving me a rough-hewn, masculine appearance." The temporary computer jobs were better, he says: "When I had my heart broken...it was my agency contact who lent a dry shoulder. After listening to my problems for about five minutes, he said, 'You've got to get it together.' Then he got up and left the room. As it gradually dawned on me that he wouldn't be returning with an assignment, I thought this advice was rather cruel. But now I know it was merely a much-needed form of what Bill Cosby would call 'tough love.'"

(Actually, we suspect a paddling with an inch-thick plank from someone like Mike Ditka would help this guy a lot more than tough love from Bill Cosby.)

This alienated proletarian, roughly masculinized by too much time frying chicken, closes his tale with a description of his reaction to a cruelly insensitive manager. After the manager suggests, "We don't owe you a job," Mr. Rasak palpitates: "I'd never been closer to punching someone in my life. If my hands weren't so delicate, even feminine, I probably would have." (No, he is not spoofing.)

Trust us. If you tire of Dave Barry, just give these magazines a try.

THE PREDATOR ETHIC

A few months ago we noticed that cosmetics CEO and notorious groper Dan Wassong was a $5,000 supporter of the 25th Anniversary dinner of the National Organization for Women, the feminist pressure group. At just about the same time he was settling a sex-harassment suit brought by 15 of his female employees.

More recently we learned that former basketball player Wilt Chamberlain, who brags about the "thousands" of women he has bedded, now serves on Planned Parenthood's National Leadership Committee, which seeks to preserve abortion on demand.

These two discoveries put us in mind of an argument writer Noemie Emery made in *The Weekly Standard* not long back: "When Bob Packwood's diaries were printed...his ex-wife [told reporters]: 'This shadow life makes a mockery of Bob's dedication to equality for women....'

"Women treated as objects? Dear Mrs. Packwood, this was not his 'shadow life.' This is the whole picture. Is it much of a journey from seeing a fetus as plaque...to seeing women as meat? Why are so many harassers such avid pro-choice people.... Ted Kennedy, Bill Clinton, Gary Hart? In *National Review,* Kate O'Beirne says it nicely: 'Packwood's public and private lives can easily be reconciled by recognizing that the feminist philosophy he espouses encourages male irresponsibility toward women. Abortion provides a refuge for men like Packwood,' [who] flee the responsibilities [sex] usually brings.

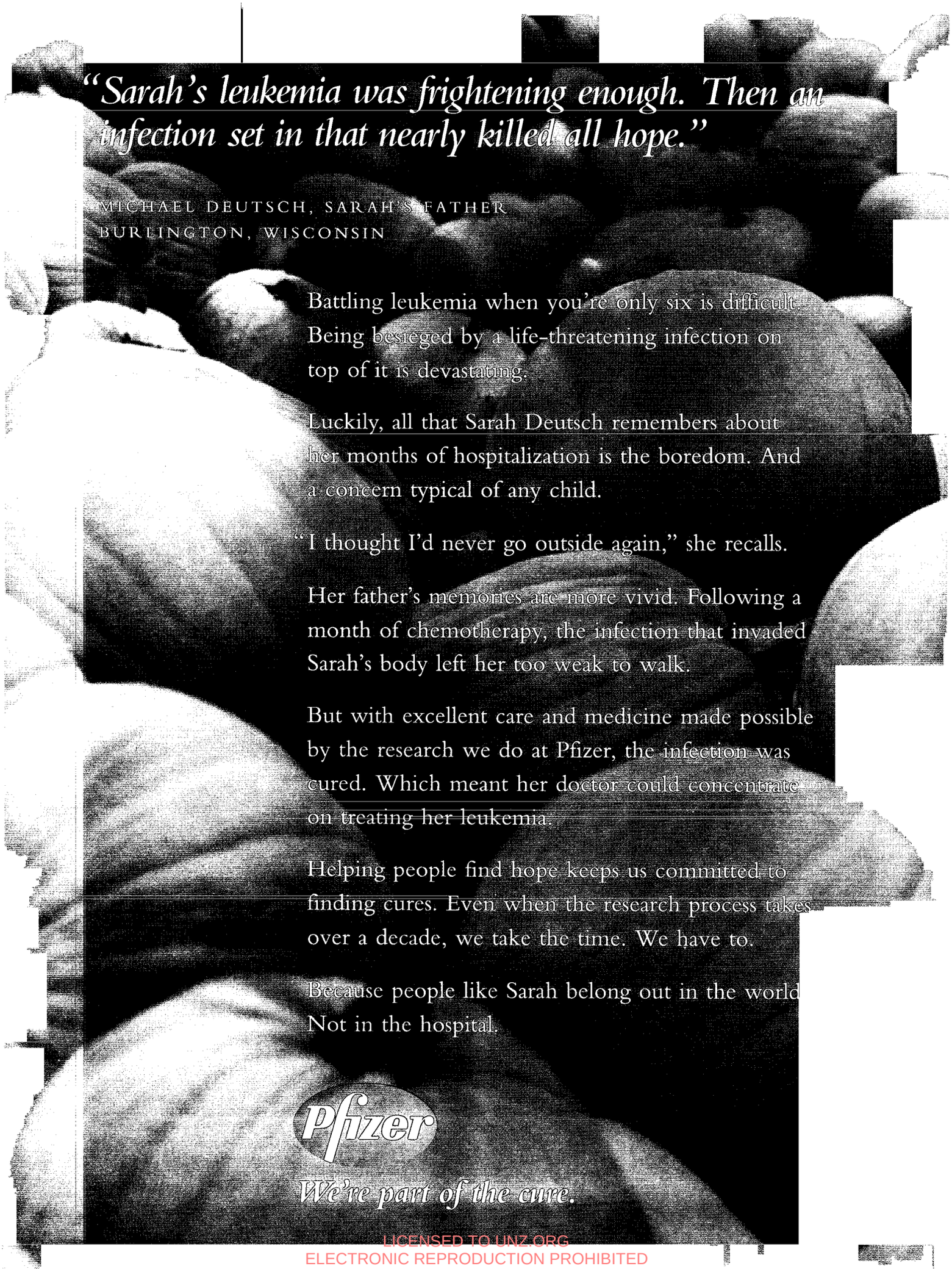
"Women as 'things'? Where *could* this have come from? From the pro-choice contingent, with their predator ethic, where life has no claims of its own.... [Feminist ask that] they may abort at will, but men have to treat them with reverence: a double bind of stunning mendacity that doubles back on itself."

Permission—Cartoon Features Syndicate

"I love you, I need you, I can't live without you, Cynthia...can I put you on hold?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Sarah's leukemia was frightening enough. Then an infection set in that nearly killed all hope."

MICHAEL DEUTSCH, SARAH'S FATHER
BURLINGTON, WISCONSIN

Battling leukemia when you're only six is difficult. Being besieged by a life-threatening infection on top of it is devastating.

Luckily, all that Sarah Deutsch remembers about her months of hospitalization is the boredom. And a concern typical of any child.

"I thought I'd never go outside again," she recalls.

Her father's memories are more vivid. Following a month of chemotherapy, the infection that invaded Sarah's body left her too weak to walk.

But with excellent care and medicine made possible by the research we do at Pfizer, the infection was cured. Which meant her doctor could concentrate on treating her leukemia.

Helping people find hope keeps us committed to finding cures. Even when the research process takes over a decade, we take the time. We have to.

Because people like Sarah belong out in the world. Not in the hospital.

Pfizer

We're part of the cure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

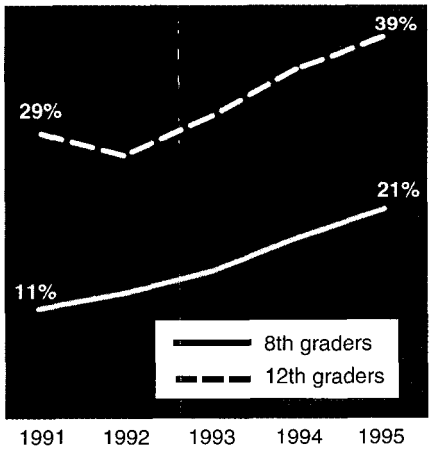
BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Indicators

DRUG ABUSE RELAPSE

Drug abuse by American teenagers fell steadily throughout the 1980s and early-1990s. Since 1991, however, an alarming relapse has been under way. Among eighth-graders, for instance, illegal drug use has nearly doubled in just four years. One out of every 20 high school seniors now smokes marijuana *daily*. Use is rising for nearly all other illicit drugs as well, including LSD and other hallucinogens, heroin, inhalants, cocaine, and crack.

STUDENTS USING DRUGS WITHIN THE LAST YEAR



Source: U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.

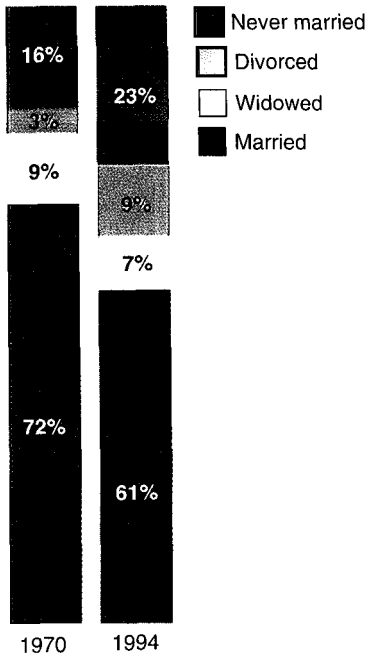
One factor driving this is a renewed glamorization of drugs in pop culture. Highly promoted music groups like Cypress Hill, the Beastie Boys, Green Day, the Black Crowes, Nine Inch Nails, Dr. Dre, and Snoop Doggy Dogg now openly promote drug use among the young. Hollywood movies like *Dazed and Confused* do likewise. "Many rap, grunge, and rock bands now have marijuana and other drug themes in their lyrics, and display their pro-drug leanings at rock concerts," notes leading drug expert Lloyd Johnston of the University of Michigan. "In addition, many public proponents of legalization try to minimize the consequences of drugs—in particular, marijuana—in order to support their policy conclusions. The net result is that the balance of messages that kids are receiving has changed appreciably. They hear fewer cautions, more reassurance about the safety of drugs, and somewhat more encouragement to use."

This has been exacerbated by a decline in anti-drug enforcement at the federal level. Early in his term, President Clinton halted drug testing for White House personnel, chopped the staff of the Office of National Drug Control Policy by 83 percent, and slashed $200 million from the federal drug interdiction program. The "Just Say No" emphasis of the 1980s was dropped, with ridicule. Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders suggested maybe drugs should be legalized.

The results: Drug coverage on network newscasts dropped from 518 stories in 1989 to 66 in 1993. Drug smuggling from Latin America rebounded as the interdiction programs were abandoned. And pro-drug messages crept back into Hollywood's products. "One of the things we learned in the '80s, when drug use declined, is that when all sectors of society speak in unison, it's heard," states Johnston. "Now we've seen an erosion of that single voice, and teens get either no voice in some quarters or conflicting voices in others."

MARITAL STATUS

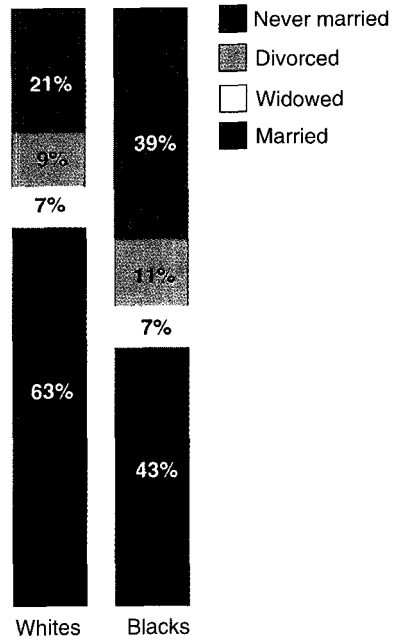
U.S. POPULATION 18 AND OVER



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

MARRIAGE AND RACE

Marriage has gone into particularly sharp decline among black Americans. As recently as 1970, 64 percent of all blacks age 18 and over were married. Today, only a distinct minority (43 percent) are.



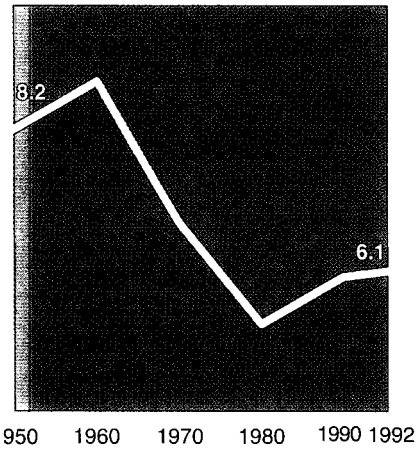
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994 data.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEENAGERS AND MARRIAGE

Reference is often made today to an "epidemic of teenage childbearing." In truth, however, today's teen birthrate is not unusually high. Here are the figures over the last generation:

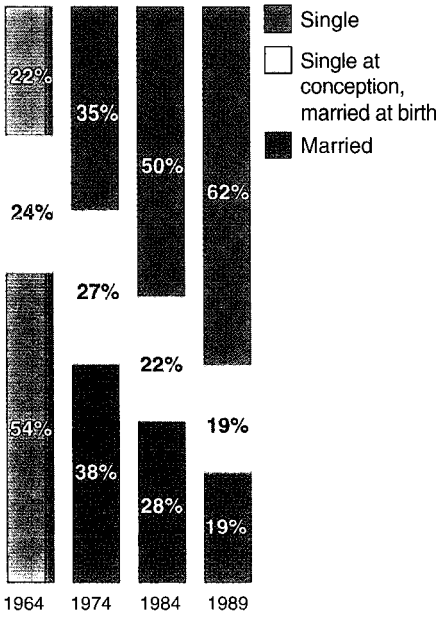
ANNUAL BIRTHS PER 100 TEENAGE GIRLS



Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

There is, however, one aspect of teen childbearing that *has* gotten much worse. Compared to the recent past, far fewer of today's young mothers are married when their baby arrives. Note this sharp decline:

MARITAL STATUS OF TEENAGE MOTHERS 1964 TO 1989



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Figures refer to first births over five year periods ending in year noted.

Does it really make a difference if a teen mother is married or not? Yes it does. Married teens end up with much healthier babies, higher income, and other measurably better results.

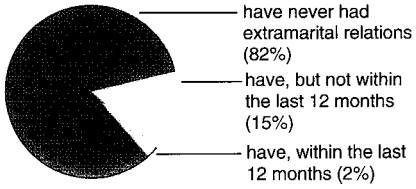
Consider, for instance, that more than half of all unwed teen mothers are on welfare within one year of their baby's birth, and that within five years, eight out of ten have been dependent on public funds. Among married teen mothers, on the other hand, just seven percent are on welfare within a year, and only 24 percent have relied on assistance after five years. (These figures from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth.)

MARRIAGE AND SEX

Americans are not nearly so anarchic in their sexual practices as you might assume from, say, reading the covers of women's magazines. While a flood of unscientific data makes its way into the media on this subject, there is one more scientific source of information: The General Social Survey administered by the National Opinion Research Center.

In the 1994 survey just 2 percent of married Americans report having had extra-marital sexual relations within the last 12 months. And 15 percent have *ever* had extra-marital relations. (See chart, top right.)

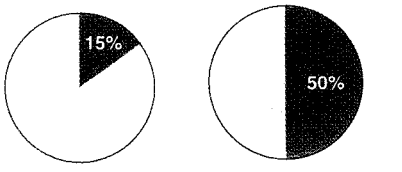
The survey also shows that only 2½ percent of the sexually active population, and much less of the total population, have had homosexual relations within the last year.



THE NEVER, EVER MARRIED

It's now projected that at least 10 to 15 percent of American women in their 20s and 30s will never, ever marry. That compares to 6 percent in previous generations. Demographer Arthur Norton has estimated that fully one-quarter of today's black women will never marry.

IS DIVORCE OVERUSED?

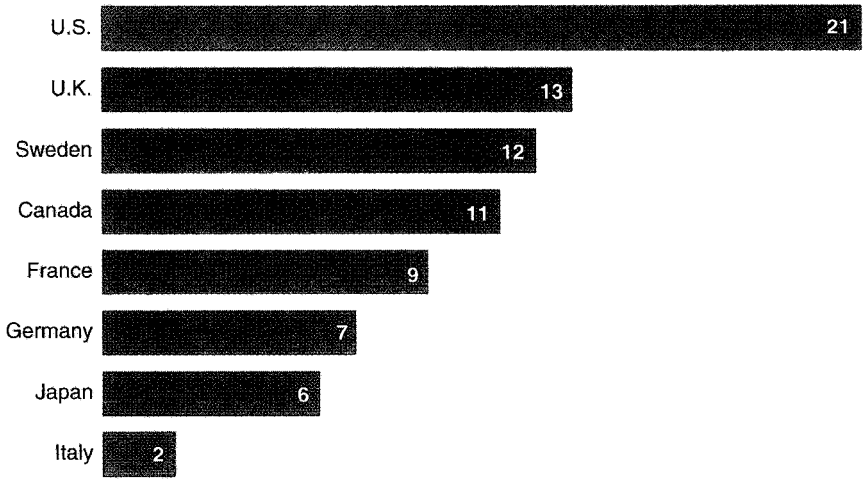


Portion of marriages that involve violence, substance abuse, or high levels of conflict

Portion of marriages that now end in divorce

Sources: Nicholas Zill; Michele Weiner-Davis.

DIVORCE RATES BY COUNTRY



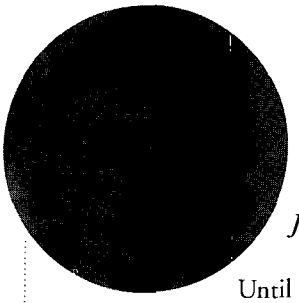
Source: U.N. data for 1991. Divorces per 1,000 married women.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two views

JOHN J. DIIULIO BLAMES POOR LEADERSHIP. ED KOCH SAYS DON'T GIVE UP—TRY WHAT WORKS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

Why Is Drug Use Rising Again?



John J. DiIulio, Jr.

Ed Koch

Until 1992, drug use in the U.S. was moving in the right direction: down. The proportion of high school seniors using any illicit drug within the previous year declined from 54 percent in 1979 to 27 percent in 1992. Casual drug use by other Americans dropped similarly. A mixture of stepped-up international drug interdiction, tougher street-level law enforcement, and national and local "Just Say No!" campaigns deserve some credit for those improvements.

But then came President Clinton, who winked and smirked that he "didn't inhale." Between 1992 and 1994, the fraction of high school seniors who used drugs within the previous month rose by 52 percent, and many other indicators of drug abuse went the same way: up. The Clinton transition team for the Department of Justice included a Who's Who of anti-incarceration advocates. Sure enough, within days of taking office, Clinton slashed the personnel of the Office of National Drug Control Policy by 80 percent. During his first two years in office, Clinton permitted Janet Reno, the most reflexively liberal Attorney General of the United States since Ramsey Clark, to bad-mouth anti-drug law enforcement, and denounce federal mandatory minimum terms for drug dealers. Clinton also gave us Joycelyn Elders, a Surgeon General who trivialized the individual and public health risks of drug use.

But President Clinton doesn't deserve all the blame. For two years, Republicans whined but did nothing. Worse, after Clinton reined in Reno, fired Elders, and began to get serious about the nation's drug-and-crime problem, congressional Republicans played politics. In 1995, they cut Clinton's Drug Enforcement Agency budget by $5 million, reduced his FBI budget by $112 million, and slashed his inter-agency drug task force request by $19 million.

Proponents of drug legalization assert that fighting drugs is ultimately futile. In any population, they say, there is some irreducible demand for "altered states" of extreme physical and emotional stimulation. Intellectuals get their highs from buying books, reading, and reflecting. Kids get theirs from riding roller coasters. Die-hard football fans (I speak as an unrecovered Philadelphia Eagles addict) suffer freezing weather, bumper-to-bumper traffic, and undercooked $5 hot dogs for the opportunity to scream, boo, and "go nuts" with 65,000 other people. And come hell, high water, or heavy law enforcement, say drug legalizers, some fraction of the population will find their thrill by using narcotics. So far, so

When I told the audience at the 1984 Democratic National Convention that drugs were the "scourge of America," some people laughed and some people booed. It's hard to believe anyone would boo now.

A September 1995 Gallup Poll reported that 94 percent of those surveyed viewed drug abuse as a crisis for the United States, and a more serious problem than health care, welfare, or the federal budget deficit. Yet some national leaders call for the legalization of drugs, claiming that such an act would end crime.

Legalization wouldn't end crime. It would simply increase the use of hard drugs. Columbia University's Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse reports that a study of 130 drug-related homicides revealed only 20 percent were related to drug trafficking, while three percent were committed to get money to support a drug habit. A whopping 60 percent of the murders resulted from the psychopharmacological effects of the drug. These kinds of tragedies would only increase with easier drug availability.

FEDERAL LAW NOW AUTHORIZES THE DEATH PENALTY FOR MAJOR DRUG TRAFFICKERS. WHY DOES JANET RENO FAIL TO USE IT?

Daniel Patrick Moynihan's on-target description of the tendency of modern society, when faced with stubborn anti-social behavior, to redefine deviancy as normal is apropos on the drug legalization question. Does declaring unethical behavior legal somehow make it okay?

Efforts to legalize drugs may result in the increased use of drugs. If people in respected positions of authority state that they believe drug use should not be punished, we can expect some young people and others to conclude that society has no right to inhibit their behavior. These legalization advocates should ask the families of drug users, particularly the parents of pregnant women who abuse drugs and the grandparents of abused children who are the victims of violence in homes where drugs are used, what they think about legalization.

Many observers are now concluding that children of a drug-addicted mother should be removed from the household.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DiIulio continued

true. Also, legalizers are right to argue against incarcerating truly small-time drug criminals who need treatment, and to remind us that our drug prohibition regime has its human and financial costs, whatever its real or perceived benefits. Moreover there is a growing body of scientific evidence that supports needle exchange programs as a means to check the spread of HIV.

What legalizers overlook, however, is that rates of drug use fluctuate widely across groups, that rates have been driven up and down by different public policies, and that getting high as a book-loving, roller-coaster-riding, or football-drooling American is incomparably better, socially and morally, than getting high as a drug abuser. Drug abuse acts as a multipler of crime and a great many other social disorders.

The drug legalization movement and its anti-incarceration allies have also promoted the utterly false view that the "war on drugs" is rabidly racist and horribly expensive. Rebutting the "expensive" part is easy. It is a wholesale myth that the drug war is breaking the taxpayer's bank; law enforcement of *all* sorts makes up only a small part of public budgets.

THE DRUG LEGALIZATION MOVEMENT AND ITS ANTI-INCARCERATION ALLIES HAVE PROMOTED THE UTTERLY FALSE VIEW THAT THE "WAR ON DRUGS" IS RACIST.

The argument that fighting drugs is racist is also false. As I explain in the current issue of *City Journal,* the fact that one-third of black males in their twenties are under some form of correctional supervision (two-thirds on probation or parole, the rest in prison or jail), has almost nothing to do with racism. Blacks commit violent crimes and weapons offenses at five or six times the rate of whites. Most imprisoned "drug offenders," black and white, have committed many property and violent crimes in addition to their drug-dealing. (Almost no one goes to prison these days for mere possession.) Even if every single black "drug offender" were released from custody tomorrow, the ratio of blacks to whites behind bars would still be far higher than the ratio of blacks to whites in the general population.

But in the absence of effective public leadership against drug abuse, the racist myth, the big-bucks myth, and the "it's totally futile" myth have flourished. And the ridiculous idea that keeping drugs illegal discourages no one from using them is gaining ground. This is dumb and self-defeating. Unfortunately, among a small but growing number of policy elites, dumb defeatism is in.

Princeton professor John J. DiIulio, Jr., is director of the Brookings Institution's Center for Public Management and adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

Koch continued

New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani has proposed legislation that would begin legal proceedings against any mother whose baby tested positive for drugs at birth. Connecticut is considering a law mandating that mothers who use drugs during pregnancies would automatically lose custody of their children.

A 1993 study by New York City found that more than three-quarters of all children killed by abuse lived in households with drug problems. If we legalized drugs, would the government be an accomplice in the abuse and murder of innocent children who grow up in drug-addicted households? If we legalized cocaine, crack, and heroin, would we be able to continue to criminalize the use of LSD and other even more mind-bending hallucinogens? Assuming that government would provide maintenance doses to addicts under legalization, what if the addicts demand increasingly larger dosages for their daily high, instead of just maintaining their habits? If the government doesn't provide it, undoubtedly a new black market will spring up.

Some drug laws need to be reformed. We should reduce prison sentences for low-level offenders and increase sentences for more serious drug crimes. For minor offenders convicted under state law, why not add flogging to the available punishments? Flogging might do more to deter some criminals than jail time. I was strapped by my father occasionally; I don't think it injured me, physically or emotionally.

Let's test the will of Americans to take appropriate measures to fight drugs. House Speaker Newt Gingrich has suggested—and I agree—that the death penalty might effectively deter drug smugglers, as is done in Malaysia and Singapore. Federal law now authorizes the death penalty for major drug traffickers. Why does Attorney General Janet Reno fail to use it?

Remember the two Australians who were to be executed in Malaysia for drug smuggling? Many Westerners were outraged, but the Malaysians responded: "We execute Malaysians who violate our drug laws, and we will apply the same law to Australians." And they did. I doubt many Australians have since visited Malaysia and conducted similar drug-related activities.

We won't become a totalitarian society if we adopt the measures used by Singapore and Malaysia to interdict and end drug trafficking. Nor would using U.S. troops to defend our borders against drug smugglers turn us into a totalitarian society. These measures will allow decent, hard-working citizens to lead their daily lives without fear.

President Nixon briefly ended marijuana smuggling into California by having vehicles arriving from Mexico searched. Regrettably, he later abandoned the effort. Today, Mexican law enforcement agencies themselves are believed to be smuggling drugs into the U.S., yet President Clinton declines to apply sanctions because he doesn't want to face the wrath of American companies if trade with Mexico is impeded.

If we as a society were doing all we could to deter drug use and trafficking and failed, we could discuss legalization. But regrettably we are not doing all we should do.

Ed Koch was mayor of New York City from 1978 to 1989.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The War Between

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Sexes

Illustration by Mary Michael Shelley

Without Marriage as a Bridge, the Male-Female Divide Becomes a Chasm

In recent decades, men and women have moved toward greater equality in education and occupation, greater flexibility in work roles, and greater androgyny in general. In the daily commerce between the sexes, there is less deference and conscious division than in the past. Men and women share work, rental houses, and (on college campuses) coed bathrooms. On popular television sitcoms like "Friends" and "Seinfeld," the young women and young men are virtually indistinguishable in their sexual and career pursuits.

Yet despite these more comradely relationships in work, learning, and leisure, the intimate partnerships between women and men have become increasingly fragile, conflict-filled, and subject to breakdown. American marriages are beginning to resemble the American job: short-term, contingent, subject to abrupt termination. And the instability in male-female relationships is even more widespread than trends in marital breakup suggest—because cohabiting partnerships are on the rise, and these informal unions are even more vulnerable to dissolution than marriages.

Breaking up involves conflict and pain, and its increased pervasiveness has caused growing despair, anger, and mutual mistrust between men and women. While warring between the sexes is hardly new, it has taken on a more aggressive, openly vengeful, and even violent edge. In the 1990s, men and women seem bent on payback.

Consider the recent spate of female buddy movies that use fantasies of revenge to evoke women's resentments and anger against men. In the hugely successful *Waiting to Exhale,* women in the audience cheer as one of the heroines ends her affair with a lying and cheating man by dumping a pitcher of ice water in his lap. In the now-classic *Thelma and Louise,* two women kill a rapist and blow up the rig of a trucker who harasses them on the highway. *In Boys on the Side,* one woman bashes her abusive boyfriend's head with a baseball bat and then enlists the help of two sidekicks to tie up the dying man before the trio hits the road. And in a real-life drama involving a woman, a man, and a desperate flight in a car, Lorena Bobbitt wreaks revenge on an abusive spouse with the unkindest cut of all.

By Barbara Dafoe Whitehead

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the most part, women's bashing of men remains in the realm of fantasy. By contrast, however, men are literally bashing women. Despite growing public intolerance of battering, and stepped-up law enforcement efforts to protect women from violent partners, men are stalking, beating, and killing their girlfriends, wives, and ex-wives (and sometimes the new lovers of their exes).

This inter-sexual violence is brutally democratic, afflicting the rich and famous as well as the poor and obscure. The O.J. Simpson case was only the most sensational in a string of celebrity trials for battering and rape, including those of Mike Tyson and William Kennedy Smith. Even John F. Kennedy, Jr., made headlines recently for manhandling his live-in girlfriend during an argument in Central Park. A new, upscale men's magazine, featuring "sports, scotch, and skin," carries a title with punch—*Rage.*

TODAY'S antagonism between the sexes is accompanied by increased separation of men and women in the one domain of life that requires their partnership: the bearing and rearing of children. Increasingly, parenthood is a solo rather than a joint pursuit. The genuinely collaborative parental partnership that makes for intensive, high-quality childrearing is in decline.

Grassroots parenthood movements reflect this pattern of separatism. Gatherings of fathers' rights organizations (which I have attended) often serve as occasions for men to vent anger against their ex-wives and a divorce system biased toward mothers. Even the organizations pushing men to be more responsible fathers are separatist in the sense that they are men-only entities, discouraging or prohibiting women's participation. In the opposite camp, the single-mothers-by-choice movement affirms the right of women to conceive and raise children "on their own." In her 1994 book *Single Mothers By Choice,* Jane Mattes, one of the gurus of this movement, counsels women on how to avoid the social and legal entanglements of raising a child with the child's father.

This separatist pattern of parenting is probably inevitable in a society where marriage is in decline. Marriage is the central cultural resource for reconciling men and women's separate natures and different reproductive strategies. Indeed, the most important purpose of marriage is to unite men and women in a formal partnership that will last through the prolonged period of dependency of a human child. Along the way, the parental partnership provides an additional way of mediating between male and female. To be sure, there are always tensions and conflicts over the rearing of children, but the task also forges a camaraderie and fosters mutual respect and gratitude for each other's special capacities.

Without the mediation of marriage, men and women regress toward misogyny and misandry in their views of each other, and toward crude biology in their reproductive pursuits. Men become inseminators with diminished responsibility and incentive for staying with their offspring. Women become mothers without a long-term attachment to the father of their children. Rap lyrics that describe women as "bitches" and men as "dogs" capture this regression at its extreme.

FOR MEN, the regression into crude biology involves flight from monogamy. Although men benefit enormously from marriage, they tend to view the requirements of monogamy as burdens and restrictions. Basketball star Charles Barkley sums up the classic male disposition when he says, "My wife is married. I'm not."

Anthropologists and evolutionary psychologists tell us a society must exert heavy cultural pressure if men are to conform to the standard of marital fidelity. The last time the nation marshaled its cultural resources to pressure men into monogamous marriage came in the post-World War II period. Although histories routinely document the pressures on Rosie the Riveter to leave the factory for the home, many fail to mention that there were similar pressures on G.I. Joe to abandon the hedonistic pleasures of the ten-day furlough and resume the longer-haul duties of the faithful husband and father. Few such pressures still exist.

For women, today's regression is toward motherhood outside of marriage. This female retreat from marriage represents a far more striking cultural departure than the flight of men from monogamy or responsible fatherhood. Men have always been footloose; women less so. Because women need support and protection during the physically demanding and economically vulnerable stages of childbearing and childrearing, they have traditionally had a disproportionate interest in marriage. They have also borne a disproportionate responsibility for preserving marriage, even when it is marred by violence, chronic alcoholism, or other severe hardships and abuses.

Yet in recent decades, with the growing opportunities for paid work, child care outside the home, and social payments provided by the state, women's dependence on marriage as the social and economic prerequisite for motherhood has eroded. More advantaged and educated women have tended to rely more on careers, plus expanded efforts by the courts and government to extract economic support from biological fathers. Many less advantaged and educated women have fallen into a direct and unbroken relationship with the state, through the welfare system.

Neither of these alliances fosters parental partnership. Nor do they in other ways give children optimal conditions for flourishing. In fact, these new alliances actively contribute to separate and unequal patterns of childrearing, with women bearing a newly disproportionate part of the burden. The contemporary vision of unisex parents, with flexibly interchangeable roles, actually becomes much more difficult to realize when marriage and parenthood are separated. No matter how appealing the cultural ideal of "hands-on, nurturant fatherhood" may be, it will not be widely achieved in a society without enduring marriage.

Permission: Sidney Harris

"Patty, I'll need a note to my men's group explaining why I'll be late for the meeting."

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead has just completed a book called The Divorce Culture, *to be published in early 1997 by Alfred A. Knopf.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The decline of marriage has also brought unequal respect for men and women in their roles as parents. The vast majority of single mothers have physical custody and daily access to their children. They are engaged in the personally rewarding and socially valuable tasks of rearing children, and their contributions, hard work, and sacrifice are routinely praised by the larger society. Single fathers, by contrast, usually live apart from their children, without routine involvement. As a result, their contributions to childrearing are weaker, less visible, and less socially prized. This further feeds sexual polarization, with the images of the steadfast mom and the deadbeat dad standing at opposite ends of the spectrum.

AS MORE MEN fail as husbands and fathers, there is an increasing sense among some women that men are entirely dispensable. In Russia, where marriage has all but withered away as the institutional basis for childrearing, women see men as "nonessential personnel" in the family. In her 1990 study of Russian women, Francine Du Plessix Gray observed: "Throughout my conversations with Soviet women, I kept being struck by the way men were compared with inanimate, disposable commodities—saunas, tonics, clothes." As one mother explained to Gray, "I just don't like most men. I neither trust them nor feel comfortable with them. I bet you many women walk down the street every day and think 'What in the hell do I need a man for?'"

The historical, cultural, and economic differences between Russian and American women are enormous, but their sentiments on husbands sound eerily alike. Writing in the *New York Times,* feminist Katha Pollitt notes, "If single women can have sex, their own homes, the respect of friends, and interesting work, they don't need to tell themselves that any marriage is better than none. Why not have a child on one's own? Children are a joy. Many men are not."

With the decline of marriage, there is a tendency to use the opposite sex openly to achieve one's own ends rather than trying to find common ground. Jane Mattes advises women who seek insemination to be "smart shoppers." Select sperm banks that offer full disclosure on motility, sperm count, and HIV, she warns, and avoid ones that divide an ejaculation into many parts so as to maximize profits.

If some women in our new era seek motherhood without the muss of marriage, many men look for sex without the muss of love or fidelity. The rituals and rules by which we once selected mates have been allowed to wither, a change that has given several advantages to men. In the past, when marriage loomed over the rites of courtship, a man in pursuit of a young woman was subjected to the scrutiny of other stakeholders in the potential marital partnership, especially male relatives. Dating meant publicly presenting oneself to a glowering father. These traditional regulations established male accountability for the young woman's well-being. If she came home drunk or became pregnant, her family knew who to hold responsible.

Without these rituals and controls, mate selection favors male power and sexual interests. There is abundant evidence to suggest that sexual predation and exploitation of young girls by older men is on the rise. Studies of birth records show an alarming age discrepancy between the very youngest teenage mothers and the fathers named on birth certificates. Of the nearly 6,000 births in 1993 to California junior-high mothers (ages 11-15), post-high school men were fathers in over half the cases.

Permission: Sidney Harris

"The custody battle could go on for months, and cost you a small fortune. Why don't you just buy yourself *another* dog?"

ALL OF THIS leads to the inescapable conclusion that the decline of marriage has eliminated crucial civilizing forces in the relationship between the sexes. If the marital decline continues, the result is likely to be a continuing downward spiral of breakup, conflict, and separatism.

A society of more informal and easily dissoluble intimate unions is a society where there is likely to be more male aggression against women—for crimes of violence against women are rooted mostly in male jealousy. It is when they seek to leave a relationship that women are at greatest risk. Since cohabiting or casual sexual partnerships tend to involve frequent leave-takings, the occasions of sexual rivalry, brinkmanship, and violence increase. This is by no means an excuse for domestic violence. But it is a fact of life that a climate of promiscuity makes it likely such violence will persist, and even escalate.

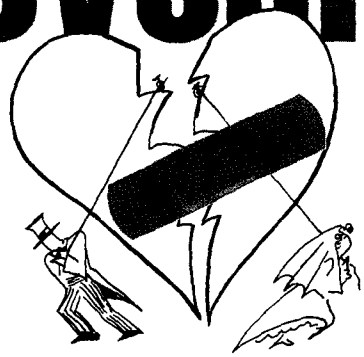
Violence against children is also likely to be a problem in a post-marriage society. The fact that children are more likely to become a source of conflict and target of abuse when they live in households that include non-related adult males is well established.

One strategy for dealing with conflict is to disengage, which is why the increasing risk of violence between men and women is likely to inspire more gender separatism. In fact, the disengagement of many men from their children today may be seen as a nonviolent, albeit still undesirable, way of handling rage and aggression felt for the mother. And it is certainly understandable that mothers would disengage from angry ex-spouses or boyfriends to avoid further conflict or violence. Sanctuary and intimacy are then found mostly with one's own sex. As one of the young heroines in *Boys on the Side* explains, "Like speaks to like. Love or whatever doesn't keep, so you find out what does."

It took humans many centuries to work out a cultural institution—called marriage—capable of linking men and women in mutual acceptance, loyalty, and cooperation. Having recently dismantled much of that bridge, we are now discovering how wide the gap between man and woman can yawn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Marriage-Saving Movement



A phenomenally successful movement of "marriage-saving" programs is springing up across the continent, and I know firsthand the difference they can make.

Twenty years ago, a project I was working on required me to commute weekly from Connecticut to Washington, D.C. I would board the train at 2 a.m. on Mondays and try to sleep my way down the tracks. After working all week in Washington, I'd arrive home late Friday night. My wife, Harriet, graciously put up with this for months, and even had candle-lit dinners waiting for me at 11 p.m. each Friday.

About this time, some couples at church encouraged us to "go on Marriage Encounter." My first reaction was defensive: "I've got a good marriage, thanks." "No," they insisted, "this is a way to make a good marriage better." To this reporter, that sounded like a public-relations line, but I kept hearing rave reviews from otherwise sensible people. So I asked Harriet if she wanted to go.

"NO!" she snapped.

"Why not? We've been apart for months. This will be good for us."

"We can't afford it," she answered. Later, the friendly couples prompting me told us our way was already paid.

"By who?" I asked.

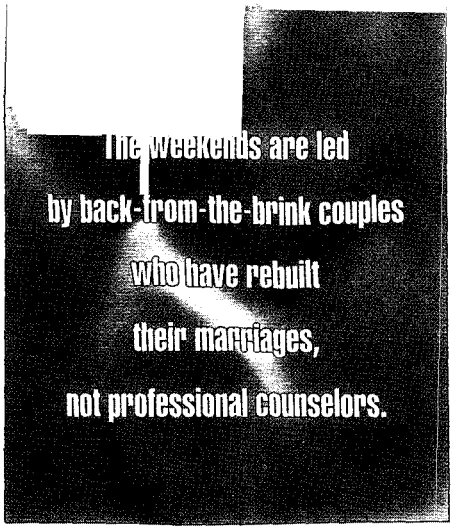
"By people who love you."

That impressed me, since we had only been in this church a year or so.

With no more excuses, we set off for the site 70 miles away. Our first surprise was that the couples who had urged us to go had arrived early and fixed a wonderful dinner. That was followed by a series of talks by the lead couples. After each one, they had attendees write for ten minutes on a given question. We then met privately with

By Michael J. McManus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



our spouse for 10 minutes to discuss what each had written. The first question was easy: "What is it that I admire about you and about our marriage, and how does it make me feel?" I wrote pages about how wonderful Harriet and our marriage were. When we exchanged notebooks back in our motel room, I noticed Harriet was much less enthusiastic.

Later, the assigned topic was, "What is it that I have not told you that I should have shared?" Harriet wrote this: "When you went to Washington, you abandoned me. You love your work more than me." I felt like I had been punched in the stomach, and asked her to tell me more. "Well, you are not a husband and are not a father! You are never home, except weekends. And even then you are always working. I asked you to take the kids for a 15-minute swim, and you said, 'I don't have time. I have to work.'"

I was so caught up in the difficulty of my work that I had not realized the effect it was having on Harriet. I wept and held her and said, "I don't love my work more than you. In fact, I've hated much of it, because I was failing. Please forgive me."

We fell back in love that weekend. It was like being on a second honeymoon—only better, because we had shared ten years together and rediscovered how much we loved one another. More importantly, my wife and I learned the absolute necessity of setting aside time on a daily basis to listen to one another, read Scripture and pray together. When our kids were young, we'd get up at 6:15 to do it; now it's a more rational hour. No longer does Harriet bottle up her feelings as she once did. And I have become a much better listener.

The central idea behind Marriage Encounter and the other marriage-saving programs is simple. Every church has a marriage-saving resource in its pews—couples who have built rewarding, lifelong marriages. They can help other couples do the same. But they have never been asked, equipped, or inspired to do so. With one exception: For 20 to 25 years, the celibate priests at many Catholic churches have turned marriage preparation over to older couples with solid marriages.

Marriage Encounter is a lay-led movement that originally came out of Catholicism and now involves a dozen denominations. About 2 million couples have attended one of its weekend retreats led by three couples with fulfilling marriages. Studies show that 80 to 90 percent of those attending literally fall back in love.

In Quebec, some Marriage Encounter leaders noticed that a few couples who attended the weekends still ended up getting divorced. Asked why, some of them said, "You were talking about powder-puff problems like poor communication. Our problems were much more serious—like ten years of adultery, an issue that no one mentioned at Marriage Encounter."

In response, Quebec Marriage Encounter couples created a more intensive weekend retreat called *Retrouvaille* (French for "rediscovery," pronounced *retro-vye*) to save marriages headed for divorce. They asked back-from-the-brink couples who had rebuilt marriages after adultery, alcoholism, or abuse to lead the weekends. These veteran survivors speak openly about how they have overcome their problems, and serve as mentors to attending couples. The technique of writing 10 minutes and then talking in private about what each has written is the same as in Marriage Encounter.

Retrouvaille has swept across the border and is now in 100 metro areas in the United States. Its results are spectacular. In Northern Virginia, for example, a fifth of the 400 couples who attended were already separated, yet 79 percent have since managed to rebuild their marriages. In Michigan, where a third of the participants had already filed divorce papers, four-fifths of the unions have been healed. All told, *Retrouvaille* has saved the marriages of 80 percent of the nearly 50,000 Canadian and American couples who have visited a session on the road to divorce.

There are also many local programs that have saved unions headed for divorce court. Jacksonville, Florida's Marriage Ministry is one such. It began when Rev. Dick McGinnis of St. David's Episcopal Church told his congregation one Sunday, "I would like to meet with any couples whose marriages were once on the rocks, but are now in a state of healing. Meet me in the chapel after the service."

He did not know if any couples would come forward, but ten couples did so, out of a congregation of 180 people. Thrilled, he told them, "I am overwhelmed trying to counsel all the tough marriages in this church. I went to the Lord in prayer, and what came to me was the way Alcoholics Anonymous works: Someone who has successfully overcome the addiction tells how he did it. We need similar couples who can tell how they turned around a bad marriage."

Of the ten couples, seven agreed to work with him. Their stories were diverse. One woman had been in an adulterous affair for eight years. One man was a bisexual who once had homosexual affairs on the side. Another man was an ex-drunk. The group developed 17 Marriage Ministry action steps—analogous to A.A.'s 12 Steps—on how to save a bad marriage. These 17 "M&M" steps are potentially more far-reaching than A.A.'s 12 Steps, however, because while only a small fraction of Americans are alcoholics, more than half of all marriages are failing.

One of these founding couples illustrated how change could come. The wife explained that her husband was an alcoholic who was out of work for two years. "He would not discipline the children. He threw his clothes all around. All he did in this marriage was football and the garbage." But then she realized that part of the problem was her "sharp tongue." So she prayed to God to send angels down "to hold my tongue." He noticed right away that she was no longer griping. So he picked up his clothes one day. She was more amorous that night. He thought that was great. She could not change him, but she could change herself, and as she did so, she inspired change on his part.

Rev. McGinnis's seven original couples have now worked with 40 troubled marriages in their church, and helped to save 38 of them. That's a 95 percent success rate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A dating relationship is designed to conceal information, not reveal it," writes James Dobson in *Love For a Lifetime.* "Each partner puts his or her best foot forward, hiding embarrassing facts, habits, flaws, and temperaments. Consequently...the stage is then set for arguments and hurt feelings (after the wedding) that never occurred during the courtship experience."

Given the intrinsic deceptiveness of romance, churches and synagogues (who conduct three-quarters of all first marriages) have an obligation to help couples accomplish two great goals: First, avoid a bad marriage before it begins. Second, learn to resolve the conflicts that are inevitable.

Couples approaching marriage desperately need an objective view of their strengths and weaknesses as a pair. There is no better way to do this than by asking engaged couples to take what is called a "premarital inventory." One of the best is called PREPARE, developed by Dr. David Olson, a family psychologist at the University of Minnesota. It presents 125 statements that both the man and woman are asked to agree or disagree with on separate questionnaires. Many of the items cleverly ask about one's partner—a subject about which people are more honest than they are about themselves:

- Sometimes I am concerned about my partner's temper.
- When we are having a problem, my partner often gives me the silent treatment.
- Sometimes I wish my partner were more careful in spending money.

The inventory is mailed to PREPARE/ENRICH, Inc. with a check for $25, and the easy-to-read results are mailed back to one of 30,000 pastors or counselors who have attended a six-hour training session. More than 1 million couples have taken PREPARE, and half as many have taken its sister inventory, ENRICH, which measures satisfaction among the already-married.

Michael J. McManus writes a column, "Ethics & Religion," nationally syndicated by the New York Times. *He is the author of* Marriage Savers *and* Insuring Marriage.

Drawing by Maslin; © 1995 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

"Look, I'm not talking about a lifetime commitment. I'm talking about marriage.

Remarkably, PREPARE predicts with 86 percent accuracy which couples will divorce, and with 80 percent accuracy who will have a good marriage. More importantly, 10 to 15 percent of those who take the test break off their engagements. Several studies show that these persons' scores are the same as those who marry but later divorce. Thus, those who break their engagements are avoiding a bad marriage before it begins. Others are helped to build a more successful marriage because they are helped to talk through issues while the relationship is young and they are still deeply in love and willing to change for their beloved.

Another major value of PREPARE is that it is simple enough for a mentoring couple to administer. PREPARE/ENRICH provides a kit that a pastor can use to train solidly married couples to undertake marriage preparation with the engaged. One part of the training involves having the potential mentor couple take ENRICH. This has a double value. It gives the mentors a sense of what it is like to take PREPARE, and it helps the pastor be sure a couple has a strong marriage before asking them to serve. Our church has trained 33 mentor couples to meet privately with each engaged couple four times before the wedding and once in the first year of marriage.

My wife, who runs our church's premarital program and now accompanies me in speaking around the country about our marriage-saving work, tells pastors: "A mentor couple can do a better job than a pastor. First, both sexes are involved. I usually understand the woman's concerns, and Mike, the young man's. We can be vulnerable and admit where we made mistakes, which is inappropriate for a pastor. And this is the most rewarding ministry we have ever been involved in. You can do it in the comfort of your own home, as a couple. It has strengthened our own relationship. We have rediscovered what Jesus meant when he said, 'Give, and you shall receive.'"

Three months ago, a black physician in her 30s called to say she and her male friend were considering marriage but were concerned about communication problems they were having. They agreed to come to our marriage prep classes.

My heart sank when I looked at their inventory. They scored 0 on communication and 20 percent on conflict resolution. *Both* said their partner was giving them the silent treatment. Andrew said Gloria made comments that put him down. She wished he were more willing to share his feelings with her. Andrew, an engineer, said, "Gloria doesn't understand how I feel."

"Andrew," I asked, "if you don't share your feelings with Gloria, how can you expect her to understand you? If she calls you at the end of the day, and asks, 'How was your day?' what do you say in response?"

"Great or terrible," he replied.

"Bad answer. What she wants is detail. Even though you are an engineer, you can push yourself to say, 'I had a great day because I finished my project much earlier than expected, and my boss complimented me.' Or, 'It was terrible. I lost two days of work on my computer by pushing the wrong button.' What she wants is detail." Both Harriet and Gloria nodded in agreement.

Three weeks later, they came to our home for another session with big smiles on their faces. I asked, "How is it going? Gloria, is he sharing his feelings with you?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"He really is," she replied.

"Andrew, do you now feel understood?"

"Yes, and she's not nagging any more."

"How about the silent treatment?" Harriet asked.

"We don't do that any more."

As this story illustrates, the inventory is only *predictive*—not *determinative*. A couple who want to solve their problems can do so. Harriet and I simply used the test to conduct a kind of X-ray of their relationship, and then applied common sense to suggest where Gloria and Andrew could improve their communication. They both had more degrees than Harriet or I, but they lacked our 30 years of experience as a married couple. And their inner-city African-American church had not trained any mentor couples. So they were willing to cross over the cultural barrier and drive 12 miles to our home.

At present, about 250,000 to 300,000 of the 2.4 million couples who marry every year take a premarital inventory, but not one percent of churches have trained mentor couples to do this work. Yet it is easy to do so, requiring only the same six-hour seminar attended by clergy. The inventory is a bridge upon which an older generation can meet a younger one and pass on its wisdom.

Since any church can be a marriage saver, in my own meetings with local clergy groups I challenge them to jump-start all of these reforms in many churches at the same time in what I call a "Community Marriage Policy."

The first city to take up my challenge was Modesto, California, back in 1986. Since then, the clergy of another 42 cities have made similar covenants, across denominational lines, to take more seriously their responsibility as the main administrators of marriage in their communities. The cities who have signed on range from Fairbanks, Alaska, to Montgomery, Alabama. This January, 252 pastors in Austin, Texas, representing 210 churches in over 30 denominations, signed what they called a "Community Marriage Statement" that represents the largest such policy yet.

In a typical case in Peoria, Illinois, clergy from 19 denominations resolved:

Fatherhood and Marriage

Marriage is a universal social institution, present in every known society. The vast majority of humans marry sometime during their lives, and almost all marriages the world over take place between just one man and one woman at a time (although in some societies men may subsequently marry additional women while still married to their original wives—simultaneous polygamy).

Among the premodern societies of the world today, marriage is one of the most important and certainly the most ubiquitous of social institutions. It has been defined simply as "a relationship within which a group socially approves and encourages sexual intercourse and the birth of children." Group approval, rather than merely individual preference, has always been a major component of the institution. Throughout most of recorded history the majority of marriages have probably been arranged (with the principals having some say in the matter). They were less alliances of two individuals than of two kin networks.

A major purpose of marriage is to keep men attached to their mates so that offspring will have the best chance of survival. Through marriage, societies normally hold the biological parents responsible for each other and for their progeny. In addition, because marriage includes sexual obligations and rights, one of the most central being the male's right of exclusive sexual access to his wife, the institution helps to prevent men from openly pursuing other men's wives. This, in turn, increases paternity confidence, which is critical to the involvement of fathers in childrearing.

Marriage is thus the institution through which societies have sought to engage the basic problem of fatherhood—while biology pulls men in the direction of promiscuity, culture seeks to pull them toward loyalty. Margaret Mead once suggested that there is no society where men will stay married for very long unless culturally required to do so. The marriage ceremony, infused with ritual and public acknowledgment, symbolizes the cultural pull. It stresses a strong social bond which includes the long-run commitment of the male, the durability of the marital relationship, and the importance of the union for children.

Adapted from Life Without Father *by David Popenoe, just published by The Free Press.*

Is the Decline of Marriage Inevitable?

International data suggest that marriage and modern life are not nearly so incompatible as divorce advocates would have us believe. Germany, for example, has an out-of-wedlock birth rate that is just half that of America's. In Italy the rate is less than a quarter of ours. In today's Japan, just 1 percent of babies are born outside of marriage, the same proportion as in 1970, and the divorce rate is so low that almost all minor children live with both their married parents.

While America may never return to the low divorce and illegitimacy rates of the past century, there is every reason to believe we can, if we choose, meet two simple goals: 1) Stabilize marriage, so that the majority of lovers who wed succeed in making a permanent union of spirit and flesh. 2) Reconnect marriage with childbearing, so that each year more and more American babies live under the protection of a couple publicly joined by vows of devotion.

Absent such an effort there is no sign that the decline of marriage is anywhere near over. Recent data strongly suggest that the real (as opposed to crude) divorce rate has yet to level off. Among persons marrying in the late 1970s, the proportion divorced within five years was 22 percent. For those marrying in the early '80s, the proportion divorced within five years nudged up to 23 percent. Meanwhile, the illegitimacy rate has jumped 66 percent since 1980, and is still climbing.

Adapted from The Abolition of Marriage *by Maggie Gallagher, just published by Regnery.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Almost 75 percent of all marriages are performed by pastors, and we are troubled by the nearly 50 percent divorce rate. Our concern is to radically reduce the divorce rate among those married in area churches. It is the responsibility of pastors to set minimal requirements to raise the quality of commitment in those we marry. We believe that those who seriously participate in premarital testing and counseling will have a better understanding of what the marriage commitment involves."

Though a third of the participants had already filed divorce papers, four-fifths managed to heal their unions.

The Peoria clergy agreed to require a minimum of four months' marriage preparation, with at least four counseling sessions in which a premarital inventory is used, and to train mentor couples in each church "to work as role models and counselors with engaged couples." Pastors also agreed that they or a mentor couple should meet with newlyweds twice in their first year of marriage. They further encouraged "all married couples to attend a couples retreat such as Marriage Encounter," and said the married clergy "should be the first to attend." Finally, they pledged to create a "Marriage Ministry of mentoring couples whose marriages once nearly failed, to work with troubled marriages."

As clergy cooperate to deepen their commitment to marriages, the divorce rate in a community can drop dramatically. When the Peoria Community Marriage Policy was signed in 1991, for instance, there were 1,200 divorces in Peoria County. Only one year later, this plunged to 950 divorces, and the rate has remained one-fifth lower than it had been.

Other cities have not seen immediate drops in their divorce rate. Puzzling over why some should succeed *while* others do not, I noticed that in the successful communities, the unprecedented commitment of clergy to cooperate across denominational lines was treated as a front-page story in newspapers and on local TV news. Media support, it appears, is important to the process of changing a divorce climate into a marriage climate in a given locality.

The long-term results of community marriage policies are

Permission—Cartoon Features Syndicate

"I'll give it a try."

Empathy, Not Therapy

Sid and Mitzi Brotman attended a *Retrouvaille* weekend in 1989. "I really didn't expect Sid to agree," remembers Mitzi. "We had been experiencing difficulties for years and had spent literally thousands of dollars on counseling and therapy. I didn't even hear about the *Retrouvaille* program until after I had filed for divorce and Sid had moved out of the house. I was resigned. In a sense it would have been a relief if Sid had refused when I suggested we register for a weekend. To my amazement, he shrugged and said, 'What do we have to lose?'"

Volunteer couples who were themselves *Retrouvaille* alumni warmly greeted the Brotmans and other attendees at the site, and took care of all their personal needs so Mitzi and Sid could focus on the program. "The presentation is part teaching and part sharing from the presenting couple's own experience," explains one *Retrouvaille* veteran. "Just listening to the husband-and-wife team is educational. It is very apparent that there are two distinct perspectives at work in any marriage. While these are couples who have been reconciled and are now working together as a team, they are very honest about the pain they experienced."

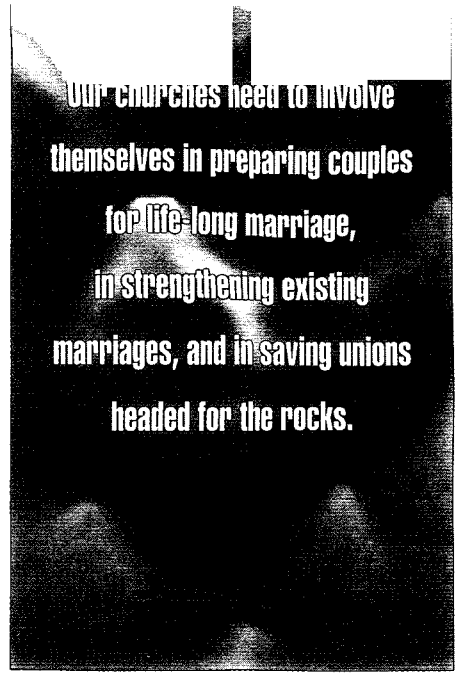
"I can't stress enough that this is a totally private exercise," comments Sid. "You're not asked to speak in front of a group or to share your reflections with anyone but your spouse." Each time the participants were asked to write a letter to their spouse on a particular question, "the wives went up to their rooms to write, and the husbands remained in the conference room," recalls Mitzi. Then notebooks would be exchanged between husband and wife, and private discussions would ensue. "After so many years together, I assumed I had conveyed to Sid many of the things I felt strongly about," states Mitzi. "I didn't realize until we did these dialoguing exercises that he had never really heard me clearly."

"When we were in therapy," explains Sid, "I got in the habit of just waiting until a therapy session to deal with our negative issues. I thought that's what the sessions were for. But *Retrouvaille* gave me the communication tools Mitzi and I needed to bypass all that and work together directly." After a powerful weekend, Sid and Mitzi participated in follow-up meetings. A few months later, Sid moved back into the house.

The Brotmans still choose to attend group meetings. After a while, Mitzi says, "you've gotten to know some of the other couples fairly well and they are an enormous source of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impressive. Consider Modesto, California, the first city to adopt one almost ten years ago. When the compact was signed there in 1986, there were 1,900 divorces in surrounding Stanislaus County. In 1995, there were only 1,600 divorces—even though the county's population grew 39 percent. Had divorces in Modesto simply grown with the population, there would have been 2,700 divorces, not 1,600.



Unfortunately, at the present pace, only a small percentage of the nation's churches will become marriage-savers within a decade. Our nation contains 350,000 houses of worship, encompassing two-thirds of all Americans. With proper mobilization, they can be a powerful force for practical change. Our churches need to involve themselves in preparing couples for life-long marriage, in strengthening existing marriages, and in saving unions headed for the rocks.

At the moment, organized religion fails American society in this area on four levels. First, too many churches and synagogues are simply wedding factories. Most clergy claim they provide premarital counseling, but Gallup polling shows that less than one-fifth of married people ever received any premarital counseling. What marriage prep does exist in most churches today is largely worthless, often little more than getting acquainted and planning a wedding service. Second, very few churches have programs to strengthen existing marriages. Weekend marriage retreats are held by less than one church in 1,000. Third, most churches have no effective strategy to save marriages headed toward divorce. And, finally, clergy tend to avoid preaching on questions of marriage and divorce, for fear of discomforting congregations. When I speak to clergy on this subject, I tell them: "You are part of the problem."

Proven programs for engaged and married couples exist. They can achieve outstanding results in attacking our nation's number-one problem—break-up of the family. I conclude from my work that any church can push its divorce rate below 10 percent, if it so chooses. In the future, no marriage-sponsoring institution has any excuse for not joining the marriage-saving crusade.

For more information on Marriage Encounter, call (800) 795-LOVE. Concerning *Retrouvaille* call (800) 470-2230. PREPARE/ENRICH Inc. may be reached at Box 190, Minneapolis, MN 55440-0190. The Marriage Savers Institute, Michael McManus president, has videos and publications available at (301) 469-5870.

continuing support. Sid and I have learned that it is vital to our marriage to socialize with other couples who are working positively on their relationships."

Nelia Odom, reporting from Washington, D.C.

Becoming a Mentor

Americans sometimes speak of divorce as though it were a natural disaster like an earthquake or blizzard—an event coming from outside that can't be helped, having little to do with our own choices and commitments. Marriage mentoring is part of a nascent trend to fight that fatalism. Adapting the Alcoholics Anonymous model that relies on the testimony of people who have been through it themselves, marriage mentoring groups are discovering they can preserve many family bonds that once looked hopeless.

The most important part of mentoring is simply being present as an experienced couple who have successfully weathered marriage's stresses. For young people whose own parents divorced, this may be their first inside look at a marriage that works.

"At first," a mentor named Carol told me, "we didn't think we had anything special to offer"—a reservation expressed by many couples when first considering getting trained as a leader. But when vast numbers of Americans have lost the knack of holding their marriages together, sheer perseverance is qualification enough. And mentor couples themselves often find it fulfilling to open up and reach out. "What drew me," explains Peg, "is that it is something we can do together."

How do engaged couples respond to the idea of marriage mentors? Most are reluctant to accept pre-marital counselling of any kind. After nearly three years as a mentor, says Ted, his experience is that "young women are often afraid to confront volatile issues, while young men don't think there *are* any." But while young couples often find the idea of meeting with a counselor or church pastor intimidating, sitting down beside a couple who are simply more experienced peers makes it easier to reveal problems needing solutions. As one experienced mentor puts it, "Our authenticity comes from having been there."

Nancy Pearcey, reporting from Bethesda, Maryland

—continued on next page

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Building a Covenant

On July 3, Linda and Alfredo San Martin will celebrate their second wedding anniversary. Despite financial strains and work pressures, their marriage is thriving, Linda says, because of the simple tools they acquired at a pre-nuptial counseling program at Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston's Jamaica Plain neighborhood.

"We had no idea how to make a foundation for a good marriage, but we learned," Linda said. For eight months before their wedding, the couple met with five other engaged couples in twice-monthly sessions run by Pastor Ray Hammond and his wife, Rev. Gloria White Hammond. The emphasis was on Scripture, prayer, communication, and covenant, Linda said.

"The course taught us that marriage is a covenant relationship, and that once you say 'I do,' it's for life. In the modern world, most people regard marriage as lasting as long as they both shall love. We learned that it's as long as we both shall live," said Linda.

Honest communication with each other, and praying together, is the way to make that happen, she said. "Now, we understand that a marriage is a relationship between a man, a woman, and God," said Linda.

Gloria Hammond says that about one-third of the couples who take the course end up canceling their wedding plans. "Some find out there are issues they just can't reconcile. We expect that to happen, and we're happy about it. It's a lot better that they discover the problems before they make a marriage commitment," she notes.

One point of contention for couples in the course, Hammond says, is how to handle opposite-sex friendships. "What do you do with old friends of the opposite sex? What do guys do with their female friends, and girls with their male friends? It's something that can put a strain on a relationship. In the group, the couples bounce ideas off each other. It's a wonderful interaction to watch," she reports.

Another problem facing couples today is the "baggage" that comes from prior sexual relationships. "It's clear to me how much of a negative impact previous sexual relationships have on a marriage," says Hammond. "It may be very subtle, but it's there. God wasn't being a killjoy when He said don't do it. It really does create problems later on," she said.

"We don't say, 'If you're sleeping together, we won't counsel you.' We've found that is not helpful. As the process goes on, most couples get to the point of realizing that they have got to change, and they come to us and ask us to pray with them," she said.

Hammond and her husband have been running the program for the last six years, with about five or six couples in each session. And every course is a sell-out. "We have to turn people away. We just don't have the room," explains Hammond. "And it's all word-of-mouth."

The Hammonds decided to focus on pre-nuptial counseling after spending a large chunk of their ministry counseling people in marriages that had gone awry. "We decided it would be much more fruitful to try to catch the problems before the marriage begins." When it comes to nuptial problems, the Hammonds know what they are talking about. At one point, their own marriage was on the rocks.

"About 10 years into our relationship we were basically at the point of divorce. It was either suicide or husbandcide. But, we decided we were going to commit to making it work, and once we were on the other side, we started working with others who were having the same problems. That has been a cornerstone of our ministry," said Hammond.

Today the couple and their two daughters enjoy their family life. "We enjoy our marriage, not because it always goes smoothly, but because the more we work at it the more rewarding it becomes," she says. They expect the same commitment from the other married couples in their congregation, said Hammond.

"It is understood that if you are going to be a member of this church community, you are going to work on your marriage. We tell people: It's not a cake walk. It's a faith walk. It takes work," she said.

Kathleen Howley, reporting from Boston, Massachusetts

Marriage Behind Bars

One of the most difficult but potentially fruitful marriage-saving programs in operation today is run by Prison Fellowship—behind bars.

Fully 85 percent of all marriages break up in cases where a spouse is incarcerated. The inmate (usually the husband) typically feels guilty and helpless, while the one left behind (usually the wife) is shocked and hurt. Of the few couples who stick it out, 80 percent split up within a year after the spouse is released, as couples discover that the separation has made them strangers to one another.

Men who flout the law have already broken their tie to the community at a fundamental level. But if they lose their bond to wife and children they become completely isolated and rootless, and at odds with society. As Tucker Carlson has written, "Wives and children are the great civilizers of men. More than law, police, jail, or fear of death, having a family induces men to become good citizens."

With this in mind, Prison Fellowship's marriage seminars encourage men to apologize to their wives and to remain involved in their responsibilities as husbands and fathers even though they are incarcerated. Wives are given a supportive environment to express their grief and loss, and encouraged to give their husbands a second chance. In one innovative program, the wives of inmates are taken through cells for a first-hand glimpse of the conditions their husbands endure.

"Many wives come to the seminar for the purpose of serving divorce papers," says Judy Spong, an instructor. But once there, many come to believe they can beat the odds and make their marriage work.

We know that the breakdown of marriage has many public effects beyond the personal ones. In helping convicted criminals keep their marriages together, some may be helped to turn away from a life of crime. The public benefits of that are clear.

Nancy Pearcey, reporting from northern Virginia

A longer description of some typical *Retrouvaille* sessions is available from Mothers at Home (800-783-4666). Prison Fellowship can be reached at 703-478-0100.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEADBEAT DADS | MEET YOUR COUNTERPARTS

WALKAWAY WIVES

BY PAUL AKERS

Picture the contemporary American family as a silent movie. Is there any doubt who would play the villain, instantly invoking hisses from the audience? The answer is as plain as a waxy mustache, sinisterly twirled: The man.

Like the devil, the man takes many guises. Especially in the inner city, he is an incubus, impregnating poor women and leaving them to their fate. Among the monied class, he shifts shapes to a big-game hunter, dumping his loyal partner of many years for a trophy wife. And whether rag-picker or Rockefeller, he is apt to materialize as the Deadbeat Dad, refusing to give his kids the financial support to which they are entitled.

Surely this fiend has a lot for which to answer. The best research shows that children from father-absent homes, regardless of economic class, are more likely to suffer emotional maladjustment, flunk school, break the law. The scoundrel's sons may well become violent felons: A 1987 study found that 72 percent of young killers grew up fatherless. His daughters are at risk for early pregnancy and venereal diseases.

But in our zeal to boo when the wicked man appears, we are overlooking a remarkable fact: Whatever holds true in the ghetto and among country-clubbers, in the middle class the woman most often initiates family break-up—and indirectly performs "father-ectomies"—by the simple mechanism of filing for divorce. How prevalent is the phenomenon? In 1988, government statistics showed 65 percent of all divorces involving children were wife-petitioned. Surveying 350 divorced men in Texas from 1988-89, the Children's Rights Council found that their wives had filed for divorce in 75 percent of the cases. David Blankenhorn, author of *Fatherless America,* says that women begin at least 60 percent of divorces.

Granted, many female-filers have sound reasons to tear the marital silk. Their husbands may be philanderers, dope addicts, batterers. In some cases, abandoned wives are simply formalizing a defunct marriage. Even so, says Blankenhorn, something else is sending middle-class women to the divorce lawyer: "a revolution in thinking about what it means to be married." Paradoxically, he says, most modern wives say they are getting a better deal from their husband than their mother got from their father. There is more gender flexibility, more shared child care. "But a lot of them also are saying, 'I'm just not getting what I need.'"

Blankenhorn observes that the sexes have different criteria for a good marriage. "Men think, 'I should be married.' But women are much more 'interior.' Their needs are for affection, conversation, and sexual intimacy. Typically, in counseling, women will say they're experiencing emotional death. Men will say they didn't know anything was wrong."

That the wages of doltishness is divorce is confirmed by Michele Weiner-Davis, an Illinois marital therapist and the author of *Divorce Busting.* Early in a marriage, she says, a woman will often pursue her husband for "more intimacy, more time, closer connection." If he withholds them, she may begin to carp about his personal habits. If her emotional famine persists, she often will take the final, cataclysmic step: planning to exit the marriage.

Weiner-Davis claims an 85 percent salvage rate for sinking marriages but says wives who deliberately decide to call it quits are almost counseling-proof. "It's sad. For the first time she really has his attention. He's desperate to work on the marriage. But in the vast majority of cases, she's long past being open to any reconciliation."

Further evidence that unhappy wives are increasingly divorce-minded comes in a 1995 study of 589 couples published in the *American Journal of Family Therapy.* Women, it turns out, are more likely to make plans for divorce and to discuss them with friends, who are more and more likely to be divorced themselves. Some of these divorce "coaches" may seek to assuage their own break-up guilt by adding to the ranks of the divorced.

But greater social acceptance isn't the only reason divorce is enticing so many women. State laws and judicial customs buffer women from much of the pain of a split. Divorcing mothers stand roughly a 90 percent chance of winning custody of the children, and thus child support. Ex-wives usually receive half the marital property. Many get spousal support. No one suggests that mothers be forced to trudge into the snow, babes in arms. But given the American family's crisis, our laws should not sweeten the divorce pot too much for either gender. "A lot of women get bored in their marriages," says psychologist John Guidubaldi of the U.S. Presidential Commission on Child and Family Welfare. "If they can forecast all these benefits, why stay married?"

Yet divorce hurts everyone. Fathers lose disposable income and routine contact with their children. Women, too, become poorer and seldom meet Mr. Right. And the havoc divorce wreaks on kids is axiomatic.

Divorce upends the worlds of perhaps a million U.S. children each year. Yet surely many of the rubbled marriages producing these waifs were rescuable. Before granting divorces, states should require pro-family counseling that teaches men and women how to talk to each other. Also, the concept of "fault" should be re-introduced into divorce law. Then any spouse who unilaterally abrogated the marital contract without just cause—ennui and a yen to self-actualize don't count—could expect little favor from the court.

"It's socially risky when marriages depend on a day-to-day temperature-taking of 'Am I happy in this relationship?'" Blankenhorn says. "In a high-divorce society, we need to look at both male and female behaviors that contribute toward divorce." We won't do that as long as, preoccupied with jeering the Deadbeat Dad, we allow the Walkaway Wife to walk off into the sunset.

Paul Akers is an editorial writer for Scripps Howard News Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Braking Divorce

FOR THE SAKE OF CHILDREN

BY WILLIAM A. GALSTON

How would we alter the law and practice of divorce in the United States if we were truly guided by the best interests of children?

We have good reason to be worried about the current state of marriage and divorce in this county, and the implications for the young. Between 1960 and 1980, the U.S. divorce rate surged by nearly 250 percent. It has since leveled off at a rate that is by far the highest in the industrialized world. About half of all marriages undertaken today will end in divorce.

Since the 1960s, the number of children directly touched by divorce has jumped from 485,000 to one million a year. The percentage of children living in mother-only households has more than doubled, and about 40 percent of such children have not seen their fathers during the past year.

Research suggests that where there has been physical abuse or extreme emotional cruelty, a divorce can be less harmful for children than if the parents had remained married. But where divorce follows lower-intensity conflict—and this covers at least half of all divorces—most children will be much better off if the marriage is maintained. Even after correcting for the effects of pre-divorce conflict and income loss after divorce, it becomes clear that divorces in non-abusive cases have a negative effect on children in a number of key areas: school performance; psychological illness; crime; suicide; out-of-wedlock births; adult work performance; and the propensity to become divorced. There is also evidence that the experience of divorce diminishes trust in people and institutions, and impedes the capacity of individuals to form stable, lasting relationships.

As recently as 30 years ago, every state had fault-based divorce laws. The standard grounds for divorce included adultery, physical abuse, mental cruelty, desertion, imprisonment, addiction, and insanity. The first no-fault divorce statute was signed into law by then-Governor Ronald Reagan of California in late 1969. By 1974, 45 states had adopted some form of no-fault.

Evidence is accumulating that no-fault laws themselves accelerated the pace of divorce. A 50-state survey recently published in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* concluded that "the switch from fault divorce law to no-fault divorce law led to a measurable increase in the divorce rate." Legal changes coincided with economic and cultural shifts. Compared to 30 years ago, Daniel Yankelovich finds, today's Americans place less value on obligation to others, on sacrifice, and on self-restraint. We place more value on individualism, on self-expression, and on personal choice.

A result is that we are far more accepting of divorce than we were 30 years ago. We are far more likely to say that marriage is first and foremost a means to personal happiness. And we are far less inclined to believe that parents in a less than fully satisfactory marriage ought to make an effort to stay together for the sake of their children. Up to the early-1960s, more than half of Americans thought that parents had an obligation to make this effort. By the 1990s, that figure had declined to less than one-fifth.

There are three points at which we may be able to reduce divorces involving minor children. The first occurs at or before the threshold of marriage. It is stunning how many schools talk about sex while failing to discuss marriage in any sustained manner. It is a legitimate function of public education to treat marriage seriously as a human and social institution. Religious institutions also ought to intervene more often to support marriage. If every church and synagogue took as one of its principal tasks the thorough preparation of young people for marriage, it could make a significant difference. There is evidence that this strategy works best when all the religious institutions within a community unite around this objective in a mutually reinforcing way.

The second point of intervention occurs during marriage. At a minimum, we should systematically re-examine our economic and social policies (and our tax code) with an eye to creating a marriage-friendly environment. In addition, religious institutions should offer programs for couples who want to renew their vows or confront problems that could lead to marital dissolution if left unaddressed.

The third key point of intervention occurs at the threshold of divorce. We should institute significant changes in the current regime of no-fault divorce laws, in effect creating a two-tier system. For couples without minor children, current law can be left in place. For couples with minor children, we should eliminate unilateral no-fault—where one person can readily obtain a divorce without the others' consent—and return to an updated fault system, with the alternative of a five-year waiting period. And even in cases where both parties consent, there should be suitable braking mechanisms: mandatory pause of at least a year for reflection, counseling, and mediation.

Is our society willing to put the well-being of children first, even when it may conflict with adult desires? The next generation will decide how well we have answered this question, and they will judge us accordingly.

William A. Galston is a professor at the University of Maryland and former assistant to President Clinton for domestic policy. This article is adapted from remarks to the Center of the American Experiment, in Minneapolis, which has published the entire speech as "Rethinking Divorce."

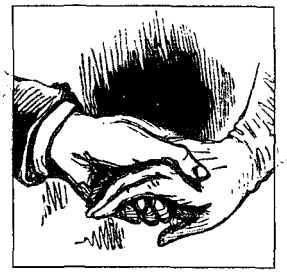
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Counter-Revolution Against Easy Divorce

New Rumbling in the States

Lynn was shocked to find that after all these years she was not really married. For the past 31 years she had only been living with her husband. She had every reason to believe she was married. An album full of pictures served as proof the wedding took place. There was a majestic four-tier wedding cake and pews stocked with well-wishers. Lynn wore a flowing white wedding gown and Fr. Tugwell, a family friend for years, performed the ceremony. She even found their old marriage license proving that some sort of emotional and legal transaction took place on that crisp September afternoon so long ago. Regardless, Lynn discovered she had never really been married in any meaningful sense. After three decades together, Greg decided he wanted some fresh scenery and he was gone. Just like that, Greg's promise to have and to hold for a lifetime vanished like the wind. There was nothing Lynn could do.

Lynn is not alone. Millions of surprised individuals have found that contemporary American marriage exists only so long as it stays in the minds of two people who believe in it. The minute you lose your partner's enthusiasm, you do not have a marriage. Marriage has less permanence and solidity than an appliance warranty or commercial contract.



This radical redefinition of marriage started in 1969 when California became the first jurisdiction in the Western world to embrace the idea of unilateral divorce. By providing the opportunity for any person to leave any marriage at any time for any reason, no-fault divorce laws effectively abolished marriage as it had existed for millennia. They changed not only the legal rules but also much of the emotional adhesive that held marriage together. While the traditional model of marriage proclaimed togetherness "till death do us part," no-fault divorce produced a Sears and Roebuck alternative: "satisfaction guaranteed or your money back."

Sociologist Lenore Weitzman has catalogued the dismay many Americans have experienced under the no-fault divorce regimen. "I really couldn't believe it," one man explains. "I felt totally powerless. She didn't ask me what I wanted...she didn't even tell me she was going to file. One day I got home from work and found the papers in the mail...I couldn't believe it when the lawyer said she was right. I had no choice—she didn't need me to get a divorce." A woman laments:

> I thought we had a contract and I lived up to it. For 30 years I was a good wife and a good mother...then my husband decided he wanted a younger woman and he left me. He didn't need any reason my lawyer said...it didn't matter if I didn't do anything wrong.... He broke our contract—the contract we both agreed to when we got married.

To their great surprise, faithful spouses discover that they have no power to hold their marriage together under no-fault, or even to negotiate a fair split. As Maggie Gallagher of the Institute of American Values remarks, only wanderlust is protected by current divorce law. Loyalty must fend for itself.

Following California's lead, every state in the Union had adopted some form of no-fault divorce law by 1985, creating a full-scale divorce revolution. When they began this work, the reformers had four goals in mind:

- Lower the already-rising divorce rate.
- Foster greater equality between men and women.
- Improve the lives of women and children in families.
- Expand individual choice and happiness.

Results from the last 25 years show very little success in fulfilling any of these promises.

Lower Divorce Rate

The Journal of Marriage and the Family reports that no-fault divorce laws actually had a significant accelerating influence on state divorce rates. According to figures from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the U.S. divorce rate increased 34 percent from 1970 to 1990.

Greater Equality

No-fault divorce laws were pushed as means of establishing equality between men and women. The result was that alimony has almost disappeared, child support has declined, and in property divisions all posses-

By Glenn T. Stanton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sions are divided equally without regard to either marital fault or differential income-earning abilities of the spouses. Because the skills and contributions of mothers raising young children are not financially rewarded in the working world, this means that when there is a break-up of a young family, the husband will typically leave the marriage with a marked advantage in the job market. Yet no-fault allows no compensating property division to counterbalance this.

Improved Family Life

The disappearance of alimony, insistence on equal division of marital assets, and the end of strictures punishing marital faithlessness have badly hurt the economic status of women and children. Together, these changes have contributed to the so-called feminization and juvenilization of poverty that has taken place since 1970.

Intact families have been affected as well. Women who choose to rear children at home today do so with the knowledge that they are but one easy divorce away from economic disaster. As a result, many mothers feel the need to keep their resumes polished, distracting them from their desired task of providing the best possible care and direction to their children. Diminished parenting is a result.

Expanded Choice and Happiness

Over the past two decades, social scientists have gathered data indicating that increased divorce has hurt the mental and physical well-being of adults and children. Separation of fathers and mothers from their children has brought heartache to young and old alike. Marital happiness has declined. (See the box on pp. 42–43.) As professor Allan Parkman laments in *No Fault Divorce: What Went Wrong?,* "seldom in U.S. history have laws been enacted with higher hopes and poorer results than the no-fault divorce statutes."

That is the bad news. The good news is that bad laws can be modified, and a number of legislators around the country are seeking to do just that. If the divorce revolution started in California, the counter-revolution was launched in Michigan, where state representative Jessie Dalman has sponsored a package of bills that would amend her state's divorce law in several important ways.

Dalman's legislation would eliminate unilateral no-fault divorce. If one spouse wants a divorce against the wishes of the other, he or she must prove fault in the form of physical abuse, adultery, chemical dependency, or desertion. Couples who mutually desire a divorce may obtain one without proving fault. If children are involved, however, the couple must complete an educational course on the consequences and management of divorce—a type of informed-consent policy. Mutually consenting couples with children must also develop and submit a parenting plan to the court that details how they will handle issues such as discipline, education, visitation, and the physical and emotional security of offspring.

Michigan's legislation also aims to strengthen prospective marriages by providing incentives for premarital counseling. A marriage license in Michigan currently requires $20 and a three-day waiting period. Under the new rules, applicants can avoid the increased $100 fee and 30-day waiting period by completing a premarital education program. Dan Jarvis, public policy coordinator for the Michigan Family Forum, explains that "the immediate goal of this legislation is to restore some justice to an area of law that is terribly unjust, and to begin a discussion of the negative impact divorce has on children and adults." Governor John Engler (who has been divorced) has promised to sign the legislation.

Michigan is certainly not alone in this counter-revolution. Iowa Governor Terry Branstad is seeking to strengthen marriage in his state, and reform of Iowa's divorce laws is one way to that end. State representatives Charles Hurley and Danny Carroll are co-sponsoring legislation similar to Michigan's. Their bill's legislative future is uncertain, but backers believe the discussion it will stimulate on the importance of marriage, and the negative consequences of divorce, will be productive.

In Idaho, state representative Tom Dorr is seeking to slow down the rate at which people leave marriages. After conducting research and sponsoring focus groups, Dorr explains, "we found that the people of Idaho are interested in having some speed bumps constructed on the road to divorce. They want to make sure couples are more thoughtful about the decision to end their marriage." In legislation introduced at the end of February, Dorr proposes a one-year waiting period of legal separation in cases where one spouse objects to the divorce or minor children are involved. Eight mandatory one-hour counseling sessions would be required during this waiting period, with the sessions conducted by either a member of the clergy, a mental health professional, or a licensed counselor, at the discretion of the couple. This would provide a spouse who wanted to preserve a marriage the time and opportunity to try to save it.

In Georgia, state representative Brian Joyce calls no-fault divorce a disaster for the family, and has introduced legislation in the Georgia House that would narrow easy divorces under the "irretrievably broken" category to three types of cases: (1) where both parties have agreed on the divorce and there are no minor children involved; (2) where there is a protective order in effect in response to acts of family violence; or (3) where one party has been convicted of family violence. There would a waiting period of 180 days before any divorce is granted even under these categories. No counseling sessions are required. "We must re-establish the idea of commitment," says Joyce. "We must make individual self-fulfillment secondary to the health of the family…laws can and do change attitudes."

These four states mark only the beginning of a burgeoning reform effort. Washington, Colorado, Kansas, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California may also soon have legislation to change their no-fault laws. An unorchestrated grassroots movement generated by broad revulsion against easy divorce is driving these reforms.

Tightening no-fault divorce laws is clearly not the sole answer to strengthening marriage in America. It is, however, a starting point for that work. Little progress can be made so long as the law empowers those individuals who want to break their marriages, while restricting those who hope to save them.

Glenn T. Stanton is a social research analyst for Focus on the Family in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Divorce's Toll on Children

Originally, notes family historian John Sommerville, marriage arose to create "security for the children to be expected from the union." Yet nowadays "the child's interest in the permanence of marriage is almost ignored." During the divorce boom that began in the mid-1960s, divorces affecting children went up even faster than divorces generally, and today *most* crack-ups involve kids. Since 1972, more than a million youngsters have been involved in a divorce *each year.*

The result is that at some time before reaching adulthood, around half of today's children will go through a marital rupture. Most of these youngsters will live in a single-parent home for at least five years. A small majority of those who experience a divorce eventually end up in a step-family, but well over a third of them will endure the extra trauma of seeing that second marriage break up.

The typical divorce brings what researcher Frank Furstenberg describes as "either a complete cessation of contact between the non-residential parent and child, or a relationship that is tantamount to a ritual form of parenthood." In nine cases out of ten the custodial parent is the mother, and fully half of all divorce-children living with their mom have had no contact with their father for at least a full year. Only one child in 10 sees his non-custodial parent as often as once a week. Overall, only about one youngster in five is able to maintain a close relationship with both parents.

Joint child custody receives a lot of publicity (it is now allowed in about half the states), but it remains unusual. In California, where it is much more common than anywhere else, only 18 percent of divorced couples have joint physical custody. Most divorced children still live solely with their mothers.

"For most men," sociologist Andrew Cherlin notes, "children and marriage are part of a package deal. Their ties to their children depend on their ties to their wives." Studies show that remarriage makes fathers particularly likely to reduce involvement with the children from their previous marriage.

Even when divorced parents do maintain regular contact with their children, truly cooperative child-rearing is very rare. Most often, research shows, the estranged parents have no communication or mutual reinforcement. As a result, mother and father frequently undercut each other, intentionally or not, and parent-child relations are often unhealthy.

A series of interviews with children of divorce conducted by author/photographer Jill Krementz illustrates this phenomenon. "My relationship with my parents has changed because now my mother does all the disciplining," says 14-year-old Meredith, "and sometimes she resents it—especially when we tell her how much fun we have with Dad. It's as if it's all fun and games with him because we're with him so little." Ari, also 14, confides, "I really look forward to the weekends because it's kind of like a break—it's like going to Disneyland because there's no set schedule, no 'Be home by 5:30' kind of stuff. It's open. It's free. And my father is always buying me presents." Zach, age 13, reports "whenever I want to see my other parent I can, and if I have a fight with one of them, instead of having to take off...I can just go eat at my Mom's house or my Dad's."

Other youngsters feel torn in two after a divorce, particularly in cases of joint custody where they must physically bounce back and forth between two houses. "It's hello, goodbye, hello, goodbye all the time," says one father. Gary Skoloff, chairman of the American Bar Association's family law section, explains that "joint custody was going to be a great panacea, the ultimate solution.... But it turned out to be the world's worst situation." The lack of a stable home has proved so harmful to children that several states, including California where the practice was pioneered, have recently revoked statutes favoring joint custody.

Illustrations by Janet Wooley

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fear and Loathing of Divorce Among the Young

Children's view of divorce is unambiguous: it's a disaster. In 1988, professor Jeanne Dise-Lewis surveyed almost 700 junior high school students, asking them to rate a number of life events in terms of stressfulness. The only thing students ranked as more stressful than parental divorce was death of a parent or close family member. Parental divorce received a higher rating than the death of a friend, being "physically hit" by a parent, feeling that no one liked them, or being seriously injured.

The "fairy tale" believed by adults, says University of Michigan psychologist and divorce expert Neil Kalter, is that if they simply present new family set-ups to their children in a calm, firm way, the children will accept them. Actually, he says, that "is seen by the kids as a lot of baloney." Among the hundreds of children he's worked with in setting up coping-with-divorce programs for schools, "there are very few who have anything good to say about divorce." "Children are generally more traditional than adults," agrees Judith Wallerstein. "Children want both parents. They want family." If children had the vote, she says, there would be no such thing as divorce.

Indeed, Gallup youth surveys in the early 1990s show that three out of four teenagers age 13 to 17 think "it is too easy for people in this country to get divorced." Go into a typical high school today and ask some students what their most important wish for the future is and a surprising number will answer "that there wouldn't be so many divorces." Young Arizonan Cynthia Coan has lots of company when she says, "as a child of divorce, I cannot help but hope that the next generation of children will be spared what mine went through."

Only about 15 percent of all marriages involve high levels of conflict, yet half end in divorce. The vast proportion of breakups, then, lack any gross strife that could warp a childhood.

You'll sometimes hear the claim that divorce doesn't hurt children as much as conflict in a marriage. This is not supported by the evidence. "For kids," reports Kalter, "the misery in an unhappy marriage is usually less significant than the changes" after a divorce. "They'd rather their parents keep fighting and not get divorced." Even five years later, few of the youngsters in Wallerstein's study agreed with their parents' decision to separate. Only ten percent were more content after the split than before.

Contrary to popular perceptions, the alternative to most divorces is not life in a war zone. Though more than 50 percent of all marriages currently end in divorce, experts tell us that only about 15 percent of all unions involve high levels of conflict. In the vast number of divorces, then, there is no gross strife or violence that could warp a youngster's childhood. The majority of marital break-ups are driven by a quest for greener grass—and in these cases the children will almost always be worse off.

Many mothers and fathers badly underestimate how damaging household dissolution will be to their children. A 1985 British study that quizzed both parents and children found that the children reported being far more seriously upset by their parents' separation than the parents assumed. Despite the common perception that the best thing parents can do for their children is to make themselves happy, the truth is that children have their own needs that exist quite apart from those of their parents. One may argue that a parent should be allowed to rank his own needs above those of his children (though this is not the traditional understanding of how families should work). But one ought not cloak that decision with the false justification that one is thereby serving the children's best interests.

Wade Horn, former commissioner of the U.S. Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, illustrates how parents can be deluded in this way:

> Families used to come to me when I was practicing psychology, seeking advice about how to divorce. They would say, "We want a divorce because we really don't get along very well any more, and we understand that our child will be better off after we divorce than if we stay together." Rarely, if ever, did I hear a family say, "We're having conflict, but we have decided to work as hard as we can at solving our problems because we know that children of divorce are more disturbed than children of intact families."

A major reason parents are making this mistake is because that is what some authorities and many ideologues in the cause of family "liberation" have been telling them. "For years experts

Karl Zinsmeister, editor in chief of The American Enterprise, *has nearly completed a book on the American family.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said, 'Once the initial trauma wears off, kids make adjustments,'" complains psychologist John Guidubaldi, past president of the National Association of School Psychologists. While it's true that kids make adjustments, Guidubaldi notes in the *Washington Post,* "so do people in prisons and mental institutions. The pertinent question is: Are those adjustments healthy? And the weight of the evidence has become overwhelming on the side that they aren't."

Short- and Long-Term Effects of Divorce on Children

The longer-term effects of divorce on children are something we've learned a lot about over the last decade. Guidubaldi, who orchestrated one of the large studies documenting these effects, concludes from his work that "the old argument of staying together for the sake of the kids is still the best argument.... People simply aren't putting enough effort into saving their marriages." Family scholar Nicholas Zill points out that "if you looked at the kind of long-term risk factors that divorce creates for kids and translated them to, say, heart disease, people would be startled."

In the early months after divorce, young children are often less imaginative and more repetitive. Many become passive watchers. They tend to be more dependent, demanding, unaffectionate, and disobedient than their counterparts from intact families. They are more afraid of abandonment, loss of love, and bodily harm. A significant number—in some studies a quarter—say they blame themselves for their parents' smash-up.

A small study conducted some years ago by University of Hawaii psychiatrist John McDermott sorted preschoolers who had been involved in a divorce a few months earlier into three categories. Three out of 16 children were judged to have weathered the initial storm essentially unchanged. Two of 16 became what he called "severely disorganized" and developed gross behavior problems. The rest, more than two-thirds, he categorized as "the sad, angry children." They displayed resentment, depression, and grief, were restless, noisy, possessive, and physically aggressive.

In Judith Wallerstein's landmark study, almost half of the pre-schoolers still displayed heightened anxiety and aggression a full year after their parents' divorce. Forty-four percent "were found to be in significantly deteriorated psychological condition." All of the two- and three-year-olds showed acute regression in toilet training. They displayed unusual hunger for attention from strangers. Older pre-schoolers had become more whiny, irritable, and aggressive, and had problems with play.

Wallerstein's study also returned to its subjects five and 10 years later, and the collected results are quite staggering. In overview they look like this: initially, two-thirds of all the children showed symptoms of stress, and half thought their life had been destroyed by the divorce. Five years down the road, over a third were still seriously disturbed (even more disturbed than they had been initially, in fact), and another third were having psychological difficulties. A surprisingly large number remained angry at their parents.

After a decade, 45 percent of the children were doing well, 14 percent were succeeding in some areas but failing in others, and 41 percent were still doing quite poorly. This last group "were entering adulthood as worried, underachieving, self-deprecating, and sometimes angry young men and women." In addition to their emotional problems and depression, many felt sorrow over their childhoods and fear about their own marriage and childrearing prospects. About a third of the group had little or no ambition at the 10-year mark. Many expressed a sense of powerlessness, neediness, and vulnerability. Most of the ones who had reached adult age regarded their parents' divorce as a continuing major influence in their lives.

It should be noted that the 131 children in the study experienced divorce in what Wallerstein and associates call the "best of circumstances." Most of their parents were college educated, and at the beginning these children were achievers in school. None of the participants was initially being treated for psychiatric disorder. Most of the families were white and middle class; half regularly attended church or synagogue.

Even in families with all these advantages, divorce wreaks havoc among the young. Summarizing her findings on the offspring of broken marriages, Wallerstein has written that "it would be hard to find any other group of children—except, perhaps, the victims of a natural disaster—who suffered such a rate of sudden serious psychological problems." Other long-term studies reach

DIVORCES INVOLVING CHILDREN SET A WHOLE TRAIN OF LOSSES INTO MOTION— TRANSPORTING UNHAPPY EFFECTS NOT ONLY OVER THE YEARS BUT EVEN ACROSS GENERATIONS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

similar conclusions. "Divorce," says psychiatrist McDermott, "is now the single largest cause of childhood depression." Marital disruption, quite clearly, can wound children for years.

A Catalogue of Behavioral Changes

Let's look more specifically at some of the changes in behavior that affect children of divorce. John Guidubaldi and Joseph Perry found in their survey of 700 youngsters that children of divorced parents performed worse than children of intact families on 9 of 30 mental health measures, showing, among other things, more withdrawal, dependency, inattention, and unhappiness, plus less work effort. Divorced students were more likely to abuse drugs, to commit violent acts, to take their own life, and to bear children out of wedlock.

A University of Pittsburgh study in the late 1980s found that there were 30 percent more duodenal ulcers and 70 percent more suicide attempts—both symptoms of serious psychological stress—among children who had lost a parent. In Wallerstein's middle-class sample, one-third of the girls with divorced parents became pregnant out of wedlock, and 8 percent had at least two abortions. Two-thirds of the girls had a history of delinquency, and almost 30 percent of the boys had been arrested more than once.

The National Survey of Children showed that more than 30 percent of the individuals whose parents separated or divorced before they were eight years old had received therapy by the time they were teenagers. Divorce-children are two to four times as numerous in psychiatric care populations as they are in society at large. In fact, more than 80 percent of the adolescents in mental hospitals, and 60 percent of the children in psychiatric clinics, have been through a divorce. And what is being treated in most cases is much more than just a short-term reaction: the average treatment takes place five years after their parents' marital breakup. At the fully adult age of 23, middle-class women whose mother and father had divorced were three times likelier to have a psychological problem than counterparts from intact families, according to a massive multi-year British study.

Schooling is another problem area. Children exposed to divorce are twice as likely to repeat a grade, and five times likelier to be expelled or suspended. (Fully 15 percent of all teenagers living with divorced mothers have been booted from school at least temporarily, according to the National Survey of Children.) Even in Wallerstein's middle-class sample, 13 percent of the youngsters had dropped out of school altogether. Barely half of Wallerstein's subjects went on to college, far less than the 85 percent average for students in their high schools. Wallerstein concludes that 60 percent of the divorce-children in her study will fail to match the educational achievements of their fathers.

Children of divorce also frequently have problems with sexual identity. In most studies, boys seem to be harder hit than girls. Pre-school boys tend to be unpopular with male peers, to have difficulty gaining access to play groups, to spend more time with younger compatriots and females, and to engage in more activities traditionally considered to be feminine. Young boys tend to be

For Adults Too, the Divorce Cure Can Be Worse Than the Disease

Most divorces are voluntary agreements between two grown-ups, and thus nobody else's business, right? Wrong. Millions of Americans are dragged into marital collapses entirely against their will—children first and foremost, but also lots of aggrieved mates. In most divorces, one spouse is seeking to dissolve the marriage despite the reluctance and opposition of the other. One important study of 52 families found that only a single couple had reached the divorce decision by mutual agreement.

Interestingly, the victims of easy divorce often include even those persons who thought that a divorce was exactly what they wanted. "The vaunted independence of the liberated and the divorced often turned out to mean loneliness and penury," writes Sylvia Ann Hewlett, summarizing the surprise finding that greeted scholars, feminists, and family law specialists in the aftermath of the no-fault revolution. Psychologist Diane Medved, who started out as a divorce defender, eventually concluded that "the process and aftermath of divorce is so pervasively disastrous—to body, mind, and spirit—that in an overwhelming number of cases, the 'cure' is worse than the 'disease.'"

> I originally thought that staying together in turmoil was more traumatic than making the break, that striking down taboos about divorce was part of our modern enlightenment.... As I shifted my professional focus to divorced individuals, the truth was difficult to avoid. Often in tears, the divorced people I talked with described fantasies of an ex-spouse returning, or confessed to guilt over abandoning a once devoted mate.... And they mourned a part of themselves never to be recaptured—the family unit now destroyed. I'd ask, "Looking back, do you think you could have made it work?" ...Each side would conclude: "Knowing what I know now, yes, we could have made it work.

We hear often about unhappy marriages. We hear a lot less about these unhappy or reluctant divorces. And there are many—one University of Virginia study found that two years into divorce, about two-thirds of former marriage partners thought the break-up might have been a mistake and that they should have tried harder to resolve their conflicts. As Medved points out, "divorce may well be the only recourse where there is drug or alcohol addiction, physical abuse, extreme emotional cruelty, or permanent abandonment." But most severed marriages, apparently, bring more heartache than relief.

Some of the most dramatic evidence for this comes from Judith Wallerstein's ten-year study of divorced middle-class families. Her "single most startling finding" at the ten-year follow-up? "In most families the divorce had eventuated in an enhanced quality of life for only one of the divorce partners.... Their former spouses either experienced significantly diminished quality

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more vehemently opposed to the divorce, to long more for their father, to feel rejected by him, and to feel uncertain about their masculinity. They are more likely than girls to become depressed and angry. Many later have problems developing intimacy, and build lifestyles of solitary interests and habits.

For girls there is a "sleeper effect"—beginning at adolescence, seemingly well-adjusted individuals often develop serious problems with sexuality, self-control, and intimacy. Kalter found higher rates of substance abuse, running away, and sexual activity among girls who had been through divorce, particularly when the father had departed early on. Wallerstein found that a "significant minority" of girls expressed insecurity, anger, or lack of self-respect in promiscuity, some gravitating to older men or a series of aimless sexual relationships. "I'm prepared for anything. I don't expect a lot," said one 20-year-old. "Love is a strange idea to me. Life is a chess game. I've always been a pawn."

Mavis Hetherington of the University of Virginia has found that girls have special problems when their divorced mothers remarry. She has also shown that the pattern of low self-respect and sexual precocity among girls with a divorced mother does *not* hold true among girls living with a solo mother due to death of the father—apparently it is active alienation from the father, more than his simple absence, that causes the disturbance. This fits well with psychologist Erik Erikson's view that it is less deprivation *per se* that is psychologically destructive than deprivation without redeeming significance.

IF CHILDREN HAD THE VOTE, THERE WOULD BE NO SUCH THING AS DIVORCE.

Wallerstein points out that teenage girls often view their absent fathers with a combination of idealization and distrust.

> The idealized father that the young adolescent girl imagines is the exact opposite of the image that later becomes prominent in her mind as she grows older—namely, the father as betrayer.... Because daughters of divorce often have a hard time finding out what their fathers are really like, they often experience great difficulty in establishing a realistic view of men in general, in developing realistic expectations, and in exercising good judgment in their choice of partner.

Researcher Conrad Schwarz has hypothesized that children who are allied only with their same-sex parent (as a girl growing up with a divorced mother would be) tend to hold a chauvinistic and alienated view of the opposite sex. Conversely, he suggests, children growing up with only opposite-sex parents (like boys living with divorced mothers) tend to have problems with gender identity and self-esteem. One study that fits this hypothesis found that college-age women who had experienced divorce in childhood were more prone to see men as unfeeling and weak than counterparts from intact families.

Female children of divorced parents are more likely to choose "inadequate husbands" and to have marital problems of their own. They are substantially likelier to have extensive pre-

---

of life or were living in conditions that, on balance, were equivalent to the stresses and gratifications during the failed marriage." In only one-tenth of the divorces she investigated had the quality of life improved for each of the former partners, and in fully a fifth "*both* of the former marital partners were living in a significantly worsened situation." Roughly another tenth found one spouse in unimproved condition and the other worse off.

A full decade after the marriages Wallerstein studied had ended, "anger rooted in the sense of having been exploited and rejected remained high in 40 percent of the women and in close to 30 percent of the men." Strikingly, "the incidence of very angry adults at the ten-year mark does not differ markedly from that at the marital rupture." Even remarriage "often failed to diminish their antagonism." At Wallerstein's five-year follow-up, 29 percent of the children were still regularly exposed to intense parental bitterness, and 31 percent of the men and 42 percent of the women had not achieved "psychological or social stability."

Though most of Wallerstein's subjects were reluctant to see the links between their marital breakup and their unhappiness, "feelings of hurt and humiliation remained intensely painful, and capable...of evoking vivid memories and obsessive thoughts" even ten years later. "Fierce angers continued to be played out over the entire decade through competition for the loyalty of children and ongoing stress over the children's contact with the other parent."

One final piece of evidence that easy divorce is no panacea even for adults: During the two decades after no-fault divorce swept onto the scene, the percentage of married adults describing their marriage as "very happy" actually *fell* by more than 10 percentage points. In an era where escaping marital discord became easy rather than hard, common rather than rare, the proportion of our population experiencing a high level of marital satisfaction dropped below a majority for the first time. Meanwhile, the probability of men and women reporting that they are in a *poor* marriage increased.

We also have good surveys measuring life satisfaction generally during the easy-divorce era, and they show the percentage of married persons reporting they are "very happy with their lives" falling by a fifth. (At the same time, satisfaction among single persons was holding constant or rising.)

This is astonishing—and sobering—evidence. There has never been any question but that easy divorce does a lot of social and third-party damage. But at least, we were promised, there will be the compensation of lightened and uncramped lives for the principals. People will go from bad marriages to good ones, from miserable circumstances to pleasing ones, from lovelessness to true compatability.

Now we learn that liberal divorce policy doesn't even reliably liberate.

—*KZ*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marital sexual experience and twice as likely to cohabit before marriage. They are more frequently pregnant at their weddings.

And both male and female children of divorce see their own marriages dissolve at significantly higher rates than counterparts who grew up in intact families. Partly this is attitudinal: One eight-year study of 1,300 men and women found that people who had watched their own parents divorce were much more tolerant of the idea of divorce, and that this tolerance translated into increased marital break-up.

The other thing that childhood divorce encourages, of course, is the avoidance of marriage. "My mom got remarried and divorced again, so I've gone through two divorces so far. And my father's also gotten remarried—to someone I don't get along with all that well. It's all made me feel that people shouldn't get married," 14-year-old Ari explained to Jill Krementz.

Divorces involving children thus set a whole train of losses into motion, transporting unhappy effects not only over the years but even across generations. And not even children fortunate enough to live in stable homes are wholly insulated from the turmoil. As writer Susan Cohen observes:

> Although I am not divorced and live in a conventional nuclear family with a husband and two children...divorce has been part of my daughter Sarah's life since she was two or three. Divorce is in her books, on her television programs, in her lessons at school, in her conversations with her friends, and in her questions to me.

Indeed, divorce is in the very air our children breathe—with lasting significance for their later views of love, families, and life.

Can Step-Families Step Into the Divorce Gap?

On the surface, the step-family would seem to be a reasonably good substitute for a child's natural family of both parents. The step-family has two adults present to provide guidance and care, one of them a natural biological parent. And stepfamilies don't suffer the obvious economic disadvantages of the single-parent household. So it's quite striking to note that even where divorce leads children quickly into a solid step-family setting, there tend to be consistent problems.

"One of the consistent findings in research is that step-parenthood does not recreate the nuclear family," reports Frank Furstenberg. "It does not put the family back together again, in Humpty Dumpty fashion." Another expert, Sara McLanahan, says, "I think it has to do with parents being involved and monitoring what goes on in their children's lives. A stepfather is not worrying about Johnny as much as Johnny's natural father."

Strikingly, children from step-families have a behavioral profile much more like that of single-parent children than that of children from natural two-parent families. Data from the United States and England show that compared to counterparts in natural families, youngsters living in step-families are far likelier to have emotional and behavioral problems, to suffer ill health, to have difficulty with their studies, to drop out of school, to initiate early intercourse, to experiment with drugs and alcohol, to be exposed to violence, to get in trouble with the law. The Brady Bunch most step-families are not.

Indeed, remarriage of a parent can add to, rather than subtract from, the stress on a child. The fraction of divorced children expressing "fear of abandonment" is higher, for instance, when the mother has remarried than when she has not. It seems that triangular resentments among the natural parent, the substitute-parent, and step- or half-siblings are responsible for these additional disturbances.

A large study conducted in San Francisco found that approximately one out of every six women who had a step-father during childhood was sexually abused by him. Over comparable periods of time, this was dozens of times higher than abuse by natural fathers. And the kinds of abuse committed by step-fathers were more serious, the study showed. The same syndrome appears when investigators look at non-sexual kinds of physical abuse, and include step-children and step-parents of both sexes. One 1993 Canadian study, for instance, found that preschoolers living with a step-parent were 40 times likelier to become involved in a child-abuse case than preschoolers living with both natural parents.

Step-families may look like good economic substitutes for natural married-couple families, but their record shows they provide no reliable mass solution to the psychic traumas and other risks that divorce creates for children. Given that step-children must change many of their life routines, often move to a new residence, cope with fresh competition for their parent's attention, sometimes adapt to unexpected sexual tensions, and face many other disruptions, this probably shouldn't surprise us. And it isn't only the young who often find step-families hard to adapt to. Step-parents too can find that loving someone else's child proves harder than expected. A classic study of family "blending" after divorce found that 33 percent of the divorced men and 44 percent of the divorced women studied were not affectionate toward children acquired through remarriage. Barely half of all parents in happy remarriages report having an "excellent" relationship with their children.

Some suggest that one reason so many children react badly to their parent's remarriage is because it intrudes on their fantasy of a natural-family reconciliation. More children secretly nurse such a dream than might be expected: One study found over one-fourth of divorced children hold onto the belief that "once my parents realize how much I want them to, they'll live together again." Another study found that even five years after the divorce, a majority of children still clung to hopes that their parents would re-unite. The aspiration often persists even in cases where the parents have acquired new partners: "If they can get divorced once, they can do it again," is the wistful comment researchers hear.

—*KZ*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marital Bliss

For more than 200 years, Americans have been told that "early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise." But a growing body of research evidence now suggests that a person's health, wealth, and success in life are more strongly influenced by who one sleeps with than the time at which one beds down. Simply put, someone who spends nights with his spouse is more apt to enjoy happiness and prosperity than one who sleeps alone—or with someone other than his spouse.

Let's start with the research linking stable marriage to good health. Just how compelling is it? According to University of Chicago demographer Linda Waite, life expectancy is more adversely affected by being unmarried than by being poor, overweight, or having heart disease.

Similarly, scholars at the National Institute for Healthcare Research recently compiled a lengthy report showing that divorced men are particularly likely to experience health problems. When compared to married men, divorced males are twice as likely to die prematurely from hypertension, four times as likely to die prematurely from throat cancer, twice as likely to die prematurely from cardiovascular disease, and seven times as likely to die prematurely from pneumonia. "Being divorced and a non-smoker is only slightly less dangerous than smoking a pack or more a day and staying married," observes NIHR president David Larson.

BY WILLIAM R. MATTOX, JR.

Why does marriage offer such extraordinary health benefits? Waite says marriage provides individuals a network of help and support, which can be particularly beneficial in dealing with stress and in recovering from illnesses and accidents. As King Solomon observed, "two are better than one because if one falls, the other will lift him up."

In addition, Waite says, marriage gives a sense of obligation to others—which discourages high-risk behaviors (like driving too fast and drinking too much), and encourages the making and saving of money (which can be used to buy better health care and safer surroundings, among other things).

Of course, the long-recognized link between stable marriage and greater wealth isn't simply due to the fact that married men have strong incentives to work hard. It is also due to the fact that married-couple households benefit from role specialization and from pooling resources. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Gary Becker of the University of Chicago has shown, these factors increase the economic efficiency of the family unit and facilitate the acquisition of wealth.

It is important to note that research shows that married couples fare significantly better than couples living together outside of marriage. For example, Washington State University researcher Jan Stets reports that women in cohabiting unions are more than twice as likely to be the victims of domestic violence than married women. Data from the National Institute of Mental Health show that cohabiting women have rates of depression that are more than three times higher than married women, and more than twice as high as other single women. And marrieds each report significantly higher physical and emotional satisfaction with their sex lives than singles, including those who cohabit.

The fact that a number of studies—including the much-publicized 1994 University of Chicago report, *Sex in America*—have consistently found monogamous married couples to be the most sexually satisfied people in America is apt to surprise most *Cosmopolitan* readers and MTV viewers. But it doesn't surprise sex therapist Mary Ann Mayo. She notes that objective measures of sexual responsiveness (such as frequency of orgasm) show that monogamous married women are more easily—and more often—satisfied than other women.

Interestingly, this greater sexual responsiveness does not appear to be connected to any special lovemaking technique. Instead, Mayo finds that sexual responsiveness and satisfaction are significantly affected by the relational context in which lovemaking takes place. "Women are more likely to be orgasmic when they feel secure, loved, and trusting that their man is around to stay," Mayo says.

Thus, cohabitation does not offer the same benefits that marriage provides,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in large part because the absence of a permanent commitment hinders the development of certain qualities—like self-sacrifice, empathy, and trust—that are critical to the success of an intimate union.

Psychiatrist Paul Meier also believes sexual satisfaction is closely tied to a belief in marital permanence. "Obviously just staying in marriage isn't what makes it good," he says. "Good marriages require the people in them to work at making them good."

A commitment to lifelong marriage, he says, "is a great motivator to make things better." It encourages constructive communication, negotiation, compromise, and sensitivity to the other's needs—factors which a number of research studies have found to contribute significantly to sexual satisfaction.

Another hint as to why married persons score higher on measures of sexual satisfaction comes from a study of married and cohabiting couples by UCLA researchers Stuart Perlman and Paul Abrahamson, which found that sexual satisfaction is enhanced by "absence of sexual anxiety." Part of the reason monogamous married couples committed to each other for life have an easier time achieving genuine intimacy is because they enjoy greater sexual freedom. They needn't worry about the ultimate rejection—the other party leaving. And they are free from the internal conflict that comes from guilt—a factor that University of Connecticut psychologists Donald Mosher and Herbert Cross have found hinders sexual satisfaction among unmarried, cohabiting college students.

What's more, monogamous married couples are free from most of the worries of out-of-wedlock sexuality like fear of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, fear of rejection, comparison to other partners, and out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

The research linking sexual satisfaction to monogamous marriage is important because it shows that, far from restricting human happiness, traditional sexual boundaries actually protect and extend personal satisfaction. And it's important to recognize the direction of causality here: The reason monogamous marrieds have more satisfying sex isn't because Casanovas are more apt to marry than other people. It's because the stable marital structure itself promotes happiness, security, and satisfaction.

Likewise, research reviews by UCLA professor Robert Coombs and others find that the longer lives of married people cannot be explained by the fact that healthy people are more likely to get and stay married. The state of marriage itself is more important in fostering good health.

No one would suggest that every unmarried person is doomed to a bad future, or that getting married gives one immunity from negative outcomes. But stable marriage does offer great benefits. Who you sleep with has more influence on your future than what you eat, what bank you use, or what time you go to bed.

That ought to be a big relief to the nation's paunchy, overdrawn, married night owls. But it does raise another question. Given the *Sex in America* research, why wouldn't a married couple *want* to get to bed early?

William R. Mattox, Jr., vice president for policy at the Family Research Council, is married and has three children.

Marriage as the Male Antidote

Outside of marriage, men are vulnerable to self-destruction. Crime rates are vastly higher among men unconnected to families than among men who are husbands and fathers. So are rates of crime victimization. Divorced males experience violent crime three times oftener than married men, and never-married men face over five times the risk.

Unattached men more frequently take their own life as well. A recent study by a University of Alberta sociologist showed that divorced and separated Canadian men commit suicide at three times the rate of married men, and that their rate of life-taking has risen four-and-a-half times as fast over a 30-year period.

Unattached men are involved in more accidents of all sorts. They drink much more heavily. They are committed for psychiatric treatment far oftener. Married men rank higher in well-being and happiness.

Unmarried males predominate in sexual violence, drug trafficking, terrorism, and military adventurism. And it isn't only in industrial societies that this is true. Anthropological studies of less developed peoples reveal that the less closely fathers are connected to families, the more violent a given culture tends to be.

Single men are also less likely to be in the labor force. They work fewer hours than fathers and husbands of the same age and background. They are much less productive, on average. A few years ago, economists David Neumark of the Federal Reserve Board and Sanders Korenman of Princeton University found that married men earn from 10 percent to 50 percent more than single men of comparable age, race, education, and skill level. Neumark and Korenman carefully controlled for possible discrimination and other factors. They examined supervisors' performance ratings of similar married and single men. And what they discovered is that there is "a productivity effect of marriage." The big wage advantage of family-men over non-family-men is due simply to the fact that they typically work harder and better.

Easy solutions for coping with the underproductive, frequently dangerous males who drift outside of married family life do not exist. As George Gilder observes, "the family is the only institution that works on the deeper interior formations of human character and commitment." The distinguished sociologist Alice Rossi agrees that "the machine cultures of the West have [no] social institutions capable of providing individual loyalty and social integration to replace the bonds of the family." The result, she says, is that "unattached males roam the interstices between socially cohesive groups, kill, and are themselves killed and maimed."

Yet these very same marauding men, once linked to wives and children in webs of responsibility, can live radically different lives. It is not so much that their natures change as that they acquire new ends. G.K. Chesterton once wrote that "The watch-dog fights while the wild dog often runs away. Of the husband, as of the house-dog, it may often be said that he has been tamed into ferocity." Marriage cannot overrule biology, but it brings an alteration in aims that has a transforming effect on behavior. To a degree untrue of women, men are Jekyll and Hyde creatures, and marriage is their brilliantly concocted antidote.

—Karl Zinsmeister

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Honeymoon

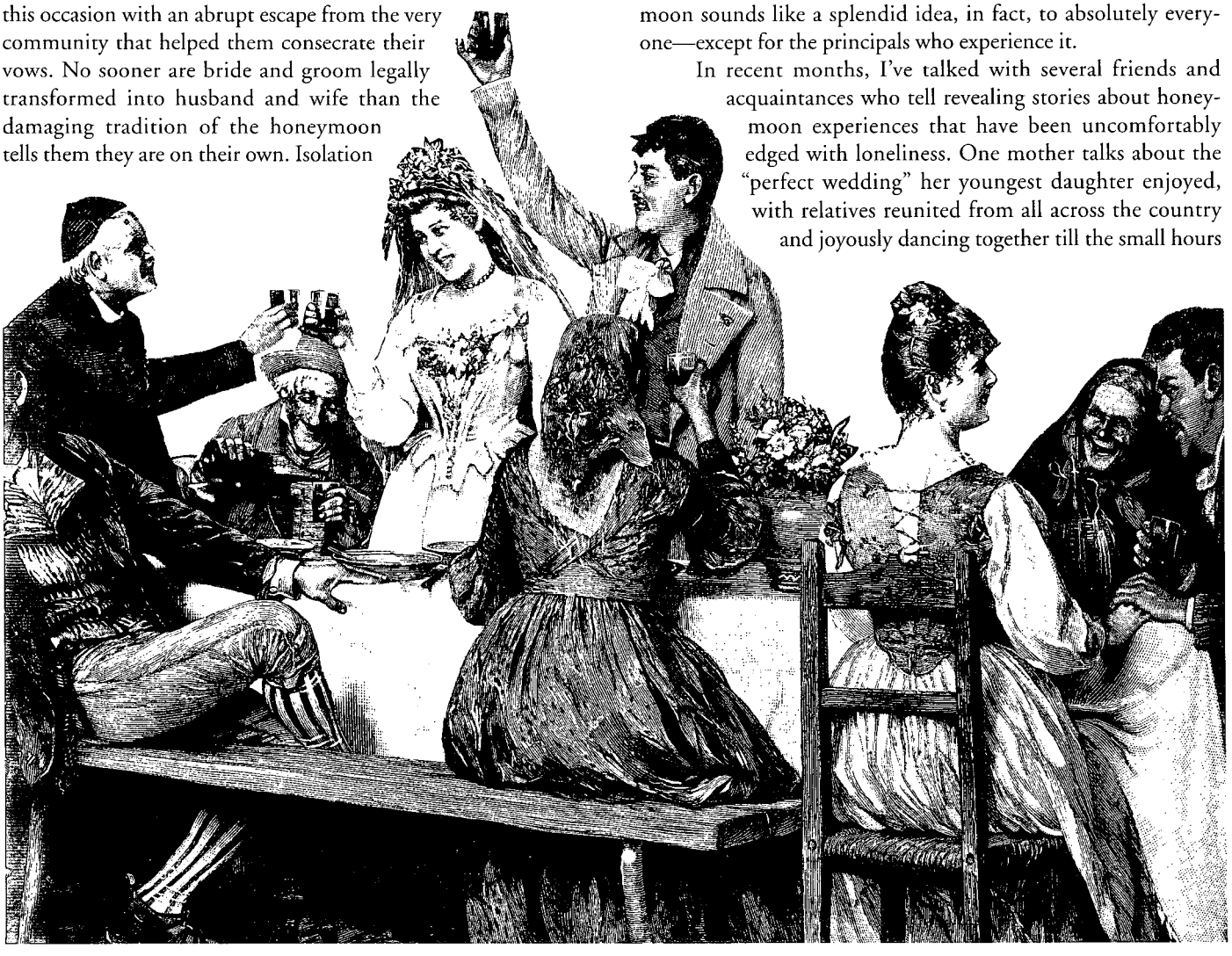
BY

MICHAEL MEDVED

AN ESTIMATED 98 PERCENT of contemporary American couples launch their joint life as husband and wife by going away for a few days or weeks on some romantic adventure. They thereby begin married life on precisely the wrong foot. The honeymoon—taking place in a union's crucial and precious first few days—not only misleads individual couples, but also serves to undermine the best foundation for stable marriage in this society.

Consider the underlying message that the honeymoon habit conveys. Even when the bridal pair is fortunate enough to enjoy a very public wedding ceremony, they follow this occasion with an abrupt escape from the very community that helped them consecrate their vows. No sooner are bride and groom legally transformed into husband and wife than the damaging tradition of the honeymoon tells them they are on their own. Isolation is emphasized, with the most desirable honeymoon destinations those that are most remote from everyday life: Hawaii and the Bahamas are good, Fiji and Tahiti and the Seychelles are even better. The idea is that the new couple needs time alone to decompress and to refresh their relationship after the whirlwind of wedding arrangements that they've just survived. In place of the intensive worries about catering menus and floral arrangements and where to seat your cantankerous Aunt Agatha, it should come as a relief to spend time basking on the beach, concentrating on your new spouse and—let's be frank—exploring the glories of sex. The honeymoon sounds like a splendid idea, in fact, to absolutely everyone—except for the principals who experience it.

In recent months, I've talked with several friends and acquaintances who tell revealing stories about honeymoon experiences that have been uncomfortably edged with loneliness. One mother talks about the "perfect wedding" her youngest daughter enjoyed, with relatives reunited from all across the country and joyously dancing together till the small hours



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the morning. The very next night the newlyweds found themselves alone together in an exotic hotel in the Florida Keys, and the bride called her mother with the simple message, "I miss you." After offering profuse thanks to both parents for the lavish and elegant celebration, and asking about the current activities of all the long-lost aunts and uncles who had gathered for the occasion, the daughter (and new wife) began to cry. She insisted that nothing was wrong—that her husband was adoring and ideal and that the resort they had chosen was glamorous and comfortable, complete with the sound of lapping, moonlit waves soothing them to sleep. She only observed that the wedding had been so magical, with so many friends and family members expressing their love and best wishes, that it somehow felt "weird" to find themselves suddenly cut off and alone.

It *is* weird, of course—weird and destructive. Large public weddings, once again in style, make a powerful statement, which the institution of the honeymoon then powerfully contradicts. The nuptial celebration says that the marriage is a communal event, important to many more people than just the bridal pair, but the honeymoon trip suggests that the real business of their union involves just the two of them. Large family groups stand together at the altar (or under the wedding canopy), bringing together parents and children, brothers and sisters, relatives and friends, and even those adorable little flower girls, with their frilly lace and pink cheeks, who speak to us so sweetly of the future. During the honeymoon, however, the bride and groom are dramatically and inescapably alone, calling to mind the cloying sentiments of that tacky old Helen Reddy song, "You and Me Against the World."

What could possibly be more misleading, when we know that the most durable marriages really do represent the union of two extended families and ought to be seen as significant communal events, rather than merely milestones for two individuals?

The missing ingredient in American marriage isn't communication or leisure or sex or even equal assignment of household chores. It is context—a feeling of higher purpose derived from the knowledge that one's marriage matters to others. Even the happiest, most romantic couples experience moments of misunderstanding and strain, and at those difficult junctures it helps enormously to know that your union has significance beyond the walls of your own home.

I refuse to believe that the drastically lower divorce rate of 50 years ago can be explained by suggesting that husbands and wives magically got along better then than they do today. Human nature wasn't substantially different, but the social order most certainly was. Our grandparents understood that an entire community shared a stake in the survival of their marriages, and they benefited from support mechanisms that discouraged marital dissolution at the same time they helped couples survive the rough spots that all unions must endure.

If the only purpose of a marriage is for two people "to make each other happy," then that marriage is bound to fail. First of all, no one can give "happiness" as a gift to another, and no couple can experience unending and uninterrupted felicity. If, on the other hand, two people are dedicated to common purposes beyond their own pleasure, they stand a far better chance of establishing a lasting relationship—as evidenced by the much lower rates of divorce for couples who share a religious commitment.

The contemporary honeymoon hasn't single-handedly destroyed that communal context so necessary to the survival of a marriage, but it certainly contributes to disconnecting couples from the setting they need to succeed. At best, the indulgent excursion that follows a wedding sets up an artificial romantic ideal that the day-to-day realities of marriage can't possibly approximate. At worst, it leaves the newlyweds feeling that something is missing from their relationship when the honeymoon fails to deliver the amorous ecstasy they've been led to expect. Something is indeed missing—that messy, organic involvement of family, friends, and neighbors that is far more vital to marital success than china, bed linens, or white-sand beaches.

Not surprisingly, our ancestors understood all this far better than we do and favored more nourishing post-wedding practices than the relatively recent innovation of the honeymoon. Jewish tradition, for example, offers the alternative of *Sheva Berachos*—"Seven Blessings"—the week-long wedding celebration that has welcomed new couples into the community of Israel for at least 2,000 years. The Talmud describes the custom in considerable detail, and leading sages date it all the way back to our forefather Jacob. After he mistakenly marries Leah, his new father-in-law Laban commands him "fulfill her week" (Genesis 29:27), which the rabbis take for a sign that even then, in the misty dawn of Jewish history, the practice of a seven-day post-wedding celebration was already well established.

To this day, Orthodox communities in every corner of the world uphold the ancient tradition of *Sheva Berachos.* Rather than escaping to some exotic locale as soon as their vows are exchanged and their wedding dinner consumed, traditionally observant Jewish couples remain for a week in the community in which they plan to make their lives. During that time, neither bride nor groom will work at their regular jobs so they can spend their days together in rest, privacy, or setting up a new household. In the evenings, however, they are honored at different dinner parties every night, hosted by various members of the community. If possible, these celebrations should each attract a *minyan* (prayer quorum) of ten adult males, as well as including at least one "new face" who didn't attend either the wedding itself, or any of the previous *Sheva Berachos* meals. In this way, Jewish tradition makes explicit the importance of expanding the circle of celebration, broadening the context in which the new couple is significant.

The climax of each night's banquet is the recitation, over twin cups of wine, of the actual "seven blessings" themselves, repeating a key element of the wedding ceremony. One of the wine glasses is passed around the table to different members of the community who are supposed to lift the goblet and mobilize whatever musical skill they can muster to sing one of the blessings on the new husband and wife. The final formulation reads, in part, "Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the universe, who created joy and gladness, groom and bride, mirth, glad song, plea-

Michael Medved, chief film critic of the New York Post *and co-host of "Sneak Previews" on PBS, is the author of seven non-fiction books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sure, delight, love, brotherhood, peace, and companionship." This listing of various gifts from the Almighty makes clear the Jewish view that the future of the couple is inextricably connected with the well-being of the community. There can be no "mirth" or "pleasure" for "groom and bride" without the "brotherhood, peace, and companionship" on which a neighborhood and society depend. At the conclusion of the brief ceremony, the two cups of wine are mixed, and their contents divided into a third cup, making one goblet each for the bride, the groom, and the community member who led the blessings. This mixing is supposed to suggest that the conjugal pair are not only blending their fates with one another, but also with the community that honors and welcomes them.

At first glance, this notion of seven days of feasting with friends may sound like something of an ordeal, but as someone who has experienced the ritual at first hand, I can assure you it is not. When Diane and I married some 11 years ago, we approached the *Sheva Berachos* process with some trepidation, since neither of us had been raised in Orthodox homes that maintained this practice. Somewhat to our surprise, however, the gradual unfolding of our week of "joy and gladness" brought one magical occasion after another, giving us the chance to extend the golden afterglow of our wedding. As the sun went down each night on those first seven days of our marriage, we found ourselves eagerly awaiting another chance to laugh and sing and luxuriate in the company of the family and friends who meant most to us in the world. Jewish tradition suggests that for the first week of their life together, the new husband and wife are considered a king and queen, and we can honestly say that never before—and never since—have we felt more thoroughly royal.

MARRIAGE IS A COMMUNAL EVENT, IMPORTANT TO MANY MORE PEOPLE THAN JUST THE BRIDAL PAIR, BUT THE HONEYMOON SUGGESTS THEIR UNION INVOLVES JUST THE TWO OF THEM.

This approach of welcoming a new couple into a community, rather than dispatching them to some remote resort, is by no means confined to the Jewish community. A similar process is unforgettably described in the beloved Aaron Copland-Martha Graham ballet *Appalachian Spring*, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for music in 1944 and perhaps the most frequently performed concert piece by any American composer. The action of the ballet takes place in the early nineteenth century and portrays the first days of a newly married couple occupying the farmhouse their pioneer community has constructed for them. With various neighbors helping them settle into their married life, the tender and magnificent music describes a husband and wife who, in the composer's words, "enact the emotions, joyful and apprehensive, that their new domestic partnership invites." After movingly quoting the Shaker tune "Simple Gifts" ("'Tis the gift to be simple/ 'Tis the gift to be free/ 'Tis the gift to come down where you ought to be"), Copland concludes his score with a description of the new couple, bidding farewell to their celebrating neighbors, "left quiet and strong in their new home."

It's hard to imagine that *Appalachian Spring* would have achieved comparable emotional impact had it dramatized a husband and wife spending the first days of their marriage at Club Med. As a matter of fact, few couples in the era it depicts ever dreamed of going on a honeymoon in the modern sense of the term, and throughout America and Europe most newlyweds followed their weddings with communal celebrations similar in spirit, if not detail, to *Sheva Berachos*.

One of the very first honeymoons to gain widespread attention involved Napoleon's younger brother, Jerome, who came to America with his bride, Betsy Patterson, in the early 1800s, taking her for a romantic retreat to Niagara Falls and instantly establishing that natural wonder as a famous honeymoon destination. Throughout the nineteenth century, this sort of wedding trip remained the exclusive prerogative of the privileged few. Only fairly recently did middle-class brides and grooms begin to use money they had saved (or received as wedding gifts) to indulge themselves in honeymoon luxuries that allowed them to briefly imitate royalty in a material sense—as opposed to enjoying more traditional celebrations in which family and neighbors treated the new pair as local kings and queens in the spiritual dimension.

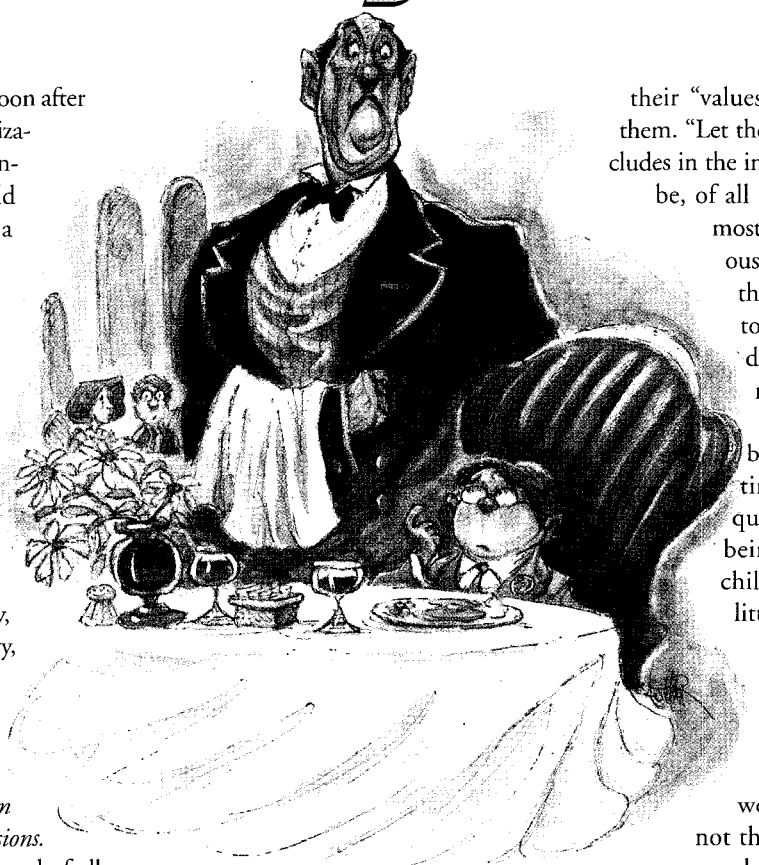
In his book *The History of Human Marriage*, Edward Westermarck compares the modern custom of honeymooning to the ancient reality of marriage-by-capture. Under that practice, a young man would seize and keep a woman from her relatives and friends, making her his own. By the time they returned, the marriage would be consummated and the woman might well be pregnant; so the family could do little to dissolve the union. Concerning the term "honeymoon" itself, the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that early uses compared "the mutual affection of newly married persons to the changing moon, which is no sooner full than it begins to wane."

These associations should give pause to modern couples, perhaps encouraging a new, more realistic look at the vast gap between the synthetic and temporary environment of the honeymoon, on the one hand, and the joys and challenges of everyday marriage on the other. A union that emphasizes at its inception the shallow and fleeting pleasures of a few private days in the sun cannot have the staying power of a partnership of common purpose, supported by similarly committed friends and family. Instead of thoughtlessly accepting the idea that newlyweds need to be cut off from company, we all have a stake in promoting wedding traditions that connect couples to their communities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beware the Childrearing Manual!

By Gertrude Himmelfarb



It was in the Spring of 1953, soon after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, that we arrived in London with our five-month-old son. Through the services of a friend, we rented the furnished house of a surgeon, his wife, and young child, which we were assured would be suitably equipped for our family. We later discovered that it came complete not only with a nursery and housekeeper but also with the housekeeper's husband, child, mother, and, on occasion, brother-in-law.

It also came with a library, and one day, looking for a mystery, I picked up a green paperback entitled *Common Sense in the Nursery.* It was one in a series of "Penguin Handbooks," appearing between *The Breeding of Farm Animals* and *Preserves for All Occasions.*

As a young mother I had need of all the common sense I could get, so I welcomed the advice of the author, identified as Mrs. Sydney Frankenburg, M.A. Oxon. [Oxford], S.C.M. [State Certified Midwife], J.P. [Justice of the Peace], and the mother of four children. I was also impressed by the testimonial of a reviewer who found it "impossible too highly to praise." Originally published in 1922, the book had been repeatedly reprinted and revised, the Penguin edition of 1946 giving the final seal of approval.

On all subjects, large and small, Mrs. Frankenburg speaks with the voice of authority. One must have a "personal relationship" with one's children, she announces, and sympathize with their "values," but by no means coddle them. "Let the final word be this," she concludes in the introduction: "Children should be, of all the people in the house, the most important and the most seriously considered, but they should think that less attention is paid to them, and to their likes and dislikes, than to any other member of the household."

Thus, an infant should be trained to spend most of his time lying alone. "He gets quite enough handling while being fed and dressed." And a child of any age benefits from a little "wholesome neglect." The child eating with adults "should be served in his proper turn—last." He should not be over-stimulated or over-indulged; a well brought up child would not think of spending his first sixpence on himself. Nor should he be allowed to wallow in self-pity. If he remarks that he has not slept well, the mother should discourage such self-centered thoughts by commenting, "Didn't you? What does it matter?"

On no occasion should corporal punishment be used; Mrs. Frankenburg cites Rousseau to show that it can arouse "sexual emotions" even in a very young child. Nor should a child be punished by being sent to bed, or deprived of meals (although the deprivation of sweets is acceptable), or subjected to some higher authority (the nursemaid threatening to tell mother or the mother to tell father). Instead, obedience may be obtained by making it "interesting" (e.g., creating a secret society called the N.P.K.P.W. to inculcate the princi-

Illustration by Brian Ajar

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRESCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN SHOULD HAVE A BRISK RUN BEFORE BREAKFAST.

ple of "It is Not Polite to Keep People Waiting"), by being absolutely consistent in enforcing even the most trivial orders (since the child cannot distinguish between the trivial and the important), and by making the punishment immediately follow the "crime."

To the uninstructed mother, Mrs. Frankenburg provides a useful chronology of manners. A six-month-old should know the meaning of "no." A one-year-old should have learned to cover his mouth when he coughs. An 18-month-old should be in the habit of "handing round" sweets to others before helping himself. A two-year-old should know that it is bad manners to interrupt a person who is talking or reading, and should not have to be reminded that "ladies go first through doors." A two-and-a-half-year-old should be giving presents to others. A three-year-old should be "quite trustworthy as regards any promise fit to be exacted." No specific age is assigned for such other civilized customs as shaking hands "with a real grip" and "looking straight in the eyes of the person greeted," taking his hat off "when he meets his nurse in the garden," and learning to put the salt at the side of his plate and dip his food into it "like a human being."

Mrs. Frankenburg is full of practical advice on all sorts of subjects. In a country where the normal outdoor environment is rain and the indoor atmosphere is compounded of draft, dampness, and chill, she goes to great lengths to ensure that children receive plenty of fresh air. Those who get enough of it, she emphasizes, *"never catch colds."* Preschool-age children should have a brisk run before breakfast, and then, "if it is a pouring wet day," should go for a short walk morning and afternoon, and spend the rest of the day "in a fireless room with wide-opened windows in their outdoor clothes." Except for nursing time, an infant should be outdoors between between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m. in the summer, and 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. in the winter, and never, except possibly while being bathed, be exposed to the unhealthy warmth of a fire. If his crib is in his mother's or nursemaid's room, it should be placed in such a position that he does not inhale "used up air" or the contaminated air from "infected breath." Even premature babies, we are told, are no longer being put in incubators, "as they were found not to be getting the fresh air that they needed."

Then there is the principle of the "clean plate." A child "off his food" should not be forced to eat; he can miss a meal with no ill effect. On the other hand, if he does eat, he should consume everything on his plate. If this should occasionally not be feasible, "a little juggling at the sideboard" may be advisable. Under the pretense of adding more gravy, some of the food may be removed, leaving only a few mouthfuls to be consumed "for the sake of good habits." If the child becomes suspicious, "which under three years old is most unlikely if the manoeuvre has been skillfully executed, the remark 'Doesn't the gravy make it look like a little tiny bit!' will be all that is necessary to allay it."

On "the facts of life" issue, Mrs. Frankenburg is quite progressive. A child, she believes, should be taught the facts as soon as he exhibits any interest in them, but he should be advised that "we only talk about these things to Mummy and Daddy." In order to learn the physical differences between girls and boys, children of both sexes should dress and undress together. "In fact, if a family does not contain both sexes, other small children should be borrowed for this purpose." Parents should be assured that no permanent damage results from masturbation, unless the child "carries out this practice almost unceasingly and becomes exhausted." In order to discourage this habit, little boys should be forbidden to keep their hands in their pockets, should not be sent to bed too early, or allowed to stay in bed after waking.

Other problems are disposed of more summarily.

Q: How many strawberries should a child be given?
A: "Keep strictly to age": one for a one-year-old, two for a two-year-old, five for a five-year-old, and so on.
Q: How do you teach a child to blow his nose?
A: Make the routine compulsory morning and night, calling out the numbers: 1. Blow! 2. Pinch! 3. Polish!
Q: How should a mother react when her child falls and bleeds?
A: Mop up the blood and tell him he is very clever to have made his hankie such a pretty pink.

Nowhere is Mrs. Frankenburg more authoritative or ingenious than on the subject of toilet-training. Bladder control may not come until the age of two, but bowel movements are more controllable. "By the time a baby is two or three months old a dirty napkin [diaper] should be a very rare occurrence." This can be achieved by a simple contrivance. "It has been found useful to place the chamber in an upturned three-legged stool, or to have it near the leg of the bed. A cushion is then placed between the child and the bed-leg, and the child is tied to the leg with a scarf. If this is tactfully done, there will be no fuss."

And then there is the delicate question of the name for the toilet functions. "The child too young to realize his elders' embarrassment can cause them acute mental agony in omnibuses and other public places by using any of the usual nursery terms. But invent your own name, and you can remain calm while your little boy shouts in a crowded restaurant, 'I want Nathaniel!'"

To an American mother, impressed by the well-behaved English child who habitually tips his hat to his nurse in the garden, dutifully blows his nose morning and night, spends his first sixpence on someone else, and never luxuriates in the "waste of feeling" induced by a sad poem or story, it was reassuring to know that even that child could be so unmannerly as to shout in a crowded restaurant—even if it is so discreet a shout as "I want Nathaniel."

The only other lesson this American mother learned from this book was to inure her to all books on child rearing.

Gertrude Himmelfarb is professor emeritus of history at the Graduate School of City University of New York. Her most recent book is The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VILLAGES ARE LOUSY AT RAISING PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN

THE INTERESTING CASE OF THE KIBBUTZ

BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

If it were possible to condense human history into a short film and then quickly review it with an anthropologist's eye, one of the modern era's most striking departures from normal practice would be its sharp reduction in the connections between parents and children. Millions of modern parents have *no* daily contact with their offspring. Millions more live with their children but have less interaction with them than school employees and other surrogate caretakers do. Very few parents hold their children's attention for as many hours during a typical day as the television set does, survey research shows.

Perhaps most unusual in historical terms is the increasing separation of very young (preschool) children from their parents. Measured in the literal sense of who gives them the bulk of their hourly instruction and attention in those critical years, a large minority of American children—concentrated among the highest and lowest income classes—are now raised primarily by hired surrogates. For millions of children, it is likelier to be a daycare worker, nanny, school aide, or baby sitter who responds to a call during prime daytime hours than a parent. The setting is often an institution not a home. And the care is collective, delivered in groups, rather than one-on-one.

There will always be a certain number of children who need to be reared in non-parental settings because their parents have died, disappeared, or proven negligent. But today many voices urge even intact American families to travel further in the direction of collective childrearing. Experts assure us there are effective substitutes for early childhood care by mother and father, that a youngster will accept separations from loving parents so long as he is given a "high quality" replacement. The key, they say, is simply to mobilize lots of community resources.

Often, these experts have cited the example of the Israeli kibbutz, where good alternatives to the onerous demands of one-on-one parenting were pioneered fully two generations ago. The kibbutz experiments prove that mass substitutes for day-to-day parenting are practical. Don't they?

Right from its origins in the first decade of this century, one of the founding tenets of the kibbutz philosophy was the idea that children should be reared in communal houses, tended by professional specialists. The dual goals were to free parents to labor and live without heavy family obligations, and to free children from the "suffocating" influences of parental possessiveness and indulgence. In the beginning, the radical socialists who made up the early kibbutzniks attempted to thoroughly collectivize children—even breastfeeding them communally and trying to blur lines of parentage through group sexuality. This, however, quickly proved unnatural for all parties, and there evolved instead a system which simply reduced the intensity of parental responsibility for children instead of ending it.

From birth onward, children spent their days with a group of their peers and a *metapelet* (caretaker) in a "children's house." Every couple of years, as the youngsters grew, they would move to a different house with their same-age peers. Their mothers and fathers would come and spend two or three hours with them at the end of the workday, and would usually tuck the children into bed for the evening. Parents would also spend many hours on weekends and holidays with their children.

Kibbutz infants up to the age of six months were breastfed by their own mothers, and throughout the preschool years parents had lots of opportunities for what is now called "quality time" with their offspring, as this description from an Israeli child development institute outlines:

> Once the suckling tie between mother and child is abandoned, the daily visit of the child to the room of the parents becomes the focus of family life for the child, and its importance is scrupulously respected. During these few hours the parents, or at least one of them, are more or less completely at the disposal of the children; they play with them, talk to them, carry the babies about, take the toddlers for little walks, etc.

The kibbutz structure provided every child with a highly responsible and intensively trained substitute parent figure at all times. The *metapelet* filled this role for infants and toddlers. For older children, the teacher-nurse in charge of the nursery school did the same thing. What evolved on the typical kibbutz was not true corporate care but rather a kind of multiple mothering. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

practice, this system was not radically different from 1990s full-day daycare of a very high standard.

This was an efficient way for adults facing pressing work (the kibbutzniks were involved in building a nation from scratch) to, as one observer put it, "get rid of children." The deed was done responsibly—always, there was provision of an attentive replacement for the absent mom or dad. In addition, there was the continuity of an extraordinarily stable and close-knit peer group. A kibbutz child's fellow classmates were a constant, unchanging presence right from birth until age 18. For all these reasons, kibbutz-style childrearing raised bold hopes. "Nowhere else during modern times has a community of highly intelligent and educated Europeans so seriously tried to free the child from a dependence on his natural parents," commented psychologist Bruno Bettelheim after an intensive study of the Israeli model.

TODAY, NEARLY ALL KIBBUTZIM HAVE OVERTHROWN THE COMMUNAL CHILDREARING PRACTICES THAT WERE ONCE AT THE VERY HEART OF THEIR EFFORTS.

As it turns out, the kibbutz upbringing produced some very distinctive character traits. For instance, nearly all outside investigators mention a blandness of personality. To survive the bustle and lack of privacy that pervades their group upraising, wrote Bettelheim, kibbutz children "must develop a high threshold against sensations, must screen out the finer nuances." This produces in them, according to many observers, a general emotional and intellectual shallowness compared to home-raised children—who develop acute sensitivities to "the fine details and distinctions" in their parents' behavior.

The kibbutz's reduced intensity of emotional involvement between children and young parents also creates a comparative lack of deep feeling. It is often "difficult or impossible for the children of the kibbutz to develop intimacy with others when they grow up," notes author Charles Siegel. A psychic distance between individuals is common, and sexual relations, many kibbutz researchers have noted, tend to be repressed. "Children raised by the community" family historian John Sommerville summarizes, "turn out to be rather unemotional, uncreative, and uninteresting to outsiders."

The lack of passion also shows up in the realm of thought. Kibbutzniks are noted for their intellectual matter-of-factness, for being "as uninterested in ideals as they are in ideas," as Siegel puts it. Few hate or openly discount high principles; they simply feel nothing strongly about them one way or the other. A kind of middlingness shows up in school achievement as well, where kibbutz children consistently score in the moderate range, with neither sharp highs nor sharp lows much in evidence.

One of the most characteristic traits of children raised in the classic kibbutz style is a powerful sense of identification with the peer group. Because same-age children are the only constant figures in their upbringing of graduated caretakers, a strong group ethic develops, with youngsters teaching, disciplining, and comforting each other. The kibbutz-reared individual shows strong loyalty to his circle of compatriots—even dependency upon them. But emotions and satisfactions do not center on individuals. Kibbutzim tend to be conformist societies, and if ever someone decides to leave the kibbutz, he is generally shunned by the whole collective. The overall result, states Bettelheim, is "a group life that is devoid of true intimacy, though it remains intensely close."

The lack of independent thinking and "moral flatness" so characteristic of the group-reared offspring of the kibbutz is not necessarily a problem for them, living as they do in a closed, work-dominated society. But those qualities would be more troublesome in an opener culture. Bettelheim reported that the kibbutznik's upbringing left him largely incapable of deciding on his own what is true or false, what is bad or good. Margaret Mead warned that "excessive dependence upon the peer group" among kibbutz and other non-parentally-reared children made them "unfitted for venturing forth as individuals."

Bettelheim tried to explain the comparative lack of freestanding intellect in the kibbutz-born with his concept of the "introject." To cope with occasional absences of a deeply loved and needed caretaker, small children normally create inside themselves a mental picture of that person. By dwelling on this image the child can comfort himself. Kibbutz children, however, are much less likely to form such an introject. They've had contact with too many caretakers to have a single clear image to cherish. There is no special single individual for them to internalize and mentally interact with.

And for this there is a penalty. The process of engaging with the inner image of a beloved one is a very productive exercise for a child, according to Bettelheim. It enhances the youngster's ability to enter the feelings of others. It bolsters psychological independence (because the child has a way to reassure himself while alone, and because the very process of conducting an internal dialogue helps the child master his own feelings).

It is the clear voice of a parental alter-ego perched on their shoulder that individuals raised in groups from infancy onward lack. As a result they do less internal wrestling with conflicting ideas. Rather than debating out their own moral syntheses and building a conscience based on choices, these children simply internalize the strictures of the surrounding organization or peer group. They adopt "a conscience based on obeying the rules of the game," summarizes Bettelheim.

One problem with this blandly realistic conscience is that it leaves the individual no way to hold himself apart from the group, or to change or redirect the group. Only children who have enjoyed intensely close ties to an adult, "chiefly the parents," can develop an "internalized" morality that allows them to think for themselves and challenge authority, according to Bettelheim. Children who grow up on a kibbutz can't even understand the motives that would make someone stand up against the community in this way.

The kibbutznik's absence of independence, passion and imagination is balanced, however, by a certain stability of character. Based on his studies back in the 1960s, Bettelheim

Karl Zinsmeister, editor in chief of The American Enterprise, *has nearly completed a book on the American family.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pronounced the kibbutzniks "uncomplicated, straightforward, and unneurotic," and noted that inner struggles do not get in their way in coping with the world. He noted a relative lack of such individual disorders as delinquency, criminal behavior, homosexuality, and sexual promiscuity.

Kibbutz-reared children are not quite as disturbance-free as Bettelheim believed, however. As early as the late 1940s, Israeli mental health professionals were seeking out international authorities for consultation on certain emotional problems among kibbutzim youth. By the 1960s, investigators were reporting slight lags in intellectual and personality development that they attributed to frustration over early absences of mother and father. A study later conducted in Israel by psychiatrist Jacob Gewirtz compared four groups of children: those raised in communal kibbutzim, those raised in daycare centers, those raised in institutions, and those raised in urban families. It showed that children in each of the first three groups behaved quite differently from the family-raised youngsters, and that dissimilarities became sharper as time progressed. Significantly less smiling was recorded among kibbutz and other non-parent-reared infants, for instance.

A fascinating study released in the early 1980s suggested that for children in certain circumstances, the kibbutz is actually, as *Science News* put it, a "pathogenic community." The study was originated by the National Institute of Mental Health to test the longstanding assumption of behavioral scientists that schizophrenia is transmitted to children by in-home behaviors of schizophrenic parents. A sample of offspring of schizophrenics—half raised in cities by their natural parents and half raised kibbutz-style—were followed over two decades. The expectation was that the kibbutzniks would serve as a kind of control group, protected from second-generation mental illness by separation from their disturbed parents. The utterly unanticipated outcome was that the children raised in kibbutzim "had a much higher incidence of psychopathology" than those raised by their own mentally-ill parents. Sixteen out of 22 kibbutz children ended up with diagnosable mental illnesses, versus only 6 out of 21 among the parent-reared group.

More subjectively, many individuals with experience of kibbutz-style surrogate parenting report that it brought them unhappiness—particularly the children. "It was inhuman, really inhuman," says Dorit Friedman recalling her own upbringing at Kibbutz Nachshon. "I had a lot of problems with it. I ran away in the middle of the night. My mother had problems with it." One woman recounted for a *New York Times* reporter a few years ago how a friend vomited whenever her mother and father walked toward the door of the children's house to leave. Other kibbutzniks speak of lifelong strains and blockages in relationships with parents and siblings.

"I felt all through my childhood that it was wrong," a young mother named Dvora living at Kibbutz Ein Carmel told an interviewer in 1981. "The children at Kibbutz Sdot Yam used to all sneak out to their parents at night, but we couldn't. I don't want my children to have to go through this."

Parents often experienced the placement of their infants in a kibbutz's nursery as a personal crisis. Cracks began to show as early as the 1940s, as mothers in particular expressed gathering dissatisfaction with the childcare arrangements of the classic kibbutz. Very soon after the first communes were founded, scholars report, a "familistic underground" started forming within them, with many parents agitating for an end to their "separation from their children." Strikingly, feelings about the "unnaturalness" of extended parent-child absences persisted into the second and third generation of kibbutzniks—among individuals who had never even known traditional parental upbringings, individuals who had otherwise been thoroughly molded by the kibbutz ethic. Indeed, a 1980 study by anthropologist Melford Spiro showed that it was *sabra* (second generation) women who were pressing hardest of all for more home-based childraising.

Similar reactions have occurred in other places where non-parental rearing of young children has been attempted. Consider the Oneida Community, a nineteenth-century utopian experiment in America where leaders tried to reduce the intensity of parent-child connections in a way similar to the kibbutzniks. Professional childminders cared for the Oneida young in Children's Houses when they were not with their parents, and children and parents alike were warned not to become too "sticky" with each other. Mothers and fathers who allowed their "right reason to be overwhelmed by the blind passion of parental love" were subject to community sanctions.

Books and journals written by Oneida Community members describe the agony and loneliness that these practices inflicted on children and their parents. In his memoir *My Father's House*, Pierrepont Noyes discusses the constant struggle of community children, mothers, and fathers to suppress their desire to be with each other. "Certain it is that I often wept bitterly when the time came to return to the Children's House," he writes.

More recent attempts to reduce the role of the parent in childraising were made in Communist China and the Soviet Union, where socialist ideology encouraged "scientific rearing" of the young. The children who emerged from these Chinese and Russian experiments in communal parenting were so sad, docile, and conforming, however, that the efforts were soon abandoned. State authorities hastily encouraged families to take back responsibility for daily care of their own children.

Back on the kibbutz, meanwhile, the final verdict on communal childrearing was rendered in a series of spontaneous popular uprisings. After several decades of steady agitation for more family care of the young, the dissatisfactions with non-parental childraising in the Israeli settlements came to a head in the early-1980s. One kibbutz after another voted to move back toward family-based homelife—in defiance of threatened sanctions from the kibbutz movement's ideological rule-makers.

Today, nearly all kibbutzim have overthrown the communal childrearing practices that were once at the very heart of their efforts. Infant care has shifted back to parents. Children's houses are disappearing. Single family dwellings have sprung up, and the private family dinner has returned. Parent-child intimacy and closeness are enjoying a great revival.

The kibbutz, comments sociologist Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, has been remade: into "a community of families."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

My Family Values

BY BENJAMIN J. STEIN

I was not interested in the Republican primaries. I happened to like most of the GOP candidates better than Clinton, but I am not even too worried about Clinton getting re-elected. "There's a lot of ruin in a nation," Adam Smith once observed.

Here is what I *am* interested in: Whether or not I can get my eight-year-old son, Tommy Stein, to write his homework neatly enough so that his teacher can read it. Whether or not I can somehow soothe him to sleep early enough so that it's not impossible to get him up the next morning. How to get him to stop leaving his clothes on the floor. How to get him to stop wiping his nose on his sleeve. How to make sure I am firm enough to give him a sense of "boundaries" and limits, but not so strict that I scare him. (Fat chance of that.) How to persuade him that his life is materially secure without having him think it is so secure that he never has to do any work.

Also: How to allow him to learn skiing and snowboarding without encouraging him to do anything that could hurt him. Where he will go to school as he gets older. How to keep him from knowing that I am putty in his hands. How to spend as much time as possible with him without his thinking that I am his slave.

Now for a few of the subjects I am no longer interested in:

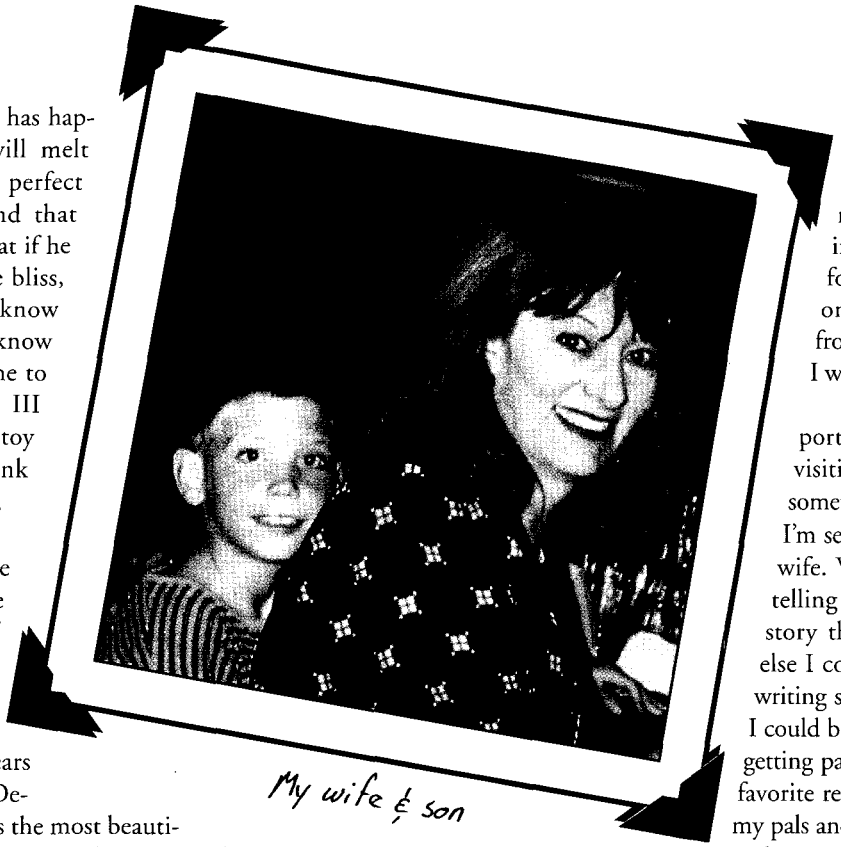
- **anything concerning "downsizing"**—I last had a full-time job 20 years ago, and I just have lost touch with the entire notion of job security or the loss of it;
- **who is President of Haiti**—I have a foster child there, but besides that, "God help them" is basically my attitude;
- **whether or not we have a flat tax**—I am totally incapable of keeping the requisite books and records, so the IRS just has its way with me anyway no matter what tax system we have or will have;
- **what our balance of trade is, what our interest rates are, what the daily change in the Dow Jones Industrials is**—these will all fluctuate, and that's enough to know;
- **anything at all having to do with modern art, modern music, movie stars who are not personal friends, modern fiction**—it's all trash, and trashy people, pure and simple.

On a typical day, I will get turned down for an acting job on a sitcom I was counting on; have someone come close to killing me on the Hollywood Freeway; have one of my law students at Pepperdine University tell me how much grayer I am than I was last year; have someone stand me up at a meeting at a studio to sell a script; and find I have about half as much money in my checking account at Great Western bank as I thought I did.

That night, I will put my son to bed. I will tell him stories about small arms of World War II, artillery of World War II, how a jet engine works (as if I knew). And he will hold my hand and make me swear that I will not leave his side until he falls asleep. I'll stop talking. Then every few minutes until he does fall asleep, he will open his eyes, see me there, and squeeze my hand and smile in the dark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Every bad thing that has happened to me that day will melt away, and I will be left in perfect paradise by that smile and that squeeze. The problem is that if he sees me crying out of pure bliss, he will on the one hand know that I love him, but also know that he can probably get me to buy him Mortal Kombat III the next time we're near a toy store. So that's what I think about instead of the flat tax.


My wife & son

I have a wife. We live separately much of the time for a variety of good reasons and together part of the time also for good reasons. When I first saw her 30 years ago at a party at the State Department, I thought she was the most beautiful girl I had ever seen. Just this weekend, I saw her selling hot dogs at a charity fair at my son's school, in a littered, pitiful playground. She looked every bit as beautiful as she did in 1966, and it amazed me that there were not fashion photographers all around her shooting her every move. She has her own law firm and works like a madwoman. My work as a writer, law professor, and actor is incomparably easier. I like to make sure that when she comes home, Tommy has done his homework and there is food on the way. In return, she remembers what was on the radio on our first date in July of 1966, and recalls vividly when I was a god of daring rebellion at Yale Law School in 1970 and not a middle-aged guy filing his pitiful IRA and Keogh statements in a basement that smells of dead rat.

I like to think about her and what would make her life easier rather than about how the press covered the New Hampshire primaries.

I have a famous mother and father. They're both old now, but still stunningly quick witted and astute. I don't want to think about what the next format for video disks is going to be. I don't really care about what CD sold the most last week at music stores or who wins the Grammies. I do care about spending time with them and having them tell me about their lives and what they know and feel. I do care about being on the phone with them at least once a day to hear how they are feeling and what they had to eat. I am not going to have any other parents, and so I am not going to waste one minute that I could use to hear my parents talk about life at Williams in 1932 or at Barnard in 1934 listening instead to what pundits think about Colin Powell or Minister Farrakhan.

I have only one sibling, a sister with an incredibly potent gift at aphorism. Thirty-four years ago, when I was desperately sick from my first time drinking, she stayed up with me and cleaned up my vomit so I could sleep in a clean bed. I have never forgotten it. I talk to her on the phone constantly from L.A. to New York, and I would do anything for her.

All of life is about opportunity costs. When I am visiting my parents in D.C. I sometimes miss acting gigs, and I'm separated from my son and wife. When I am with Tommy telling him a Ren and Stimpy story there is always something else I could be doing. I could be writing something for publication. I could be reading about a case and getting paid for it. I could be at my favorite restaurant, Morton's, seeing my pals and beautiful young women. And sometimes, when my son "forgets" about his thousands of toys, his hundreds of books, his homework that needs to be done, his room that needs straightening, and says "I'm bored" in a voice so whiney it sounds like a dentist's drill, I am not wildly happy with him. I am not Mary Poppins. While I cry with happiness a lot about my family, I also grit my teeth on occasion.

But what I have winnowed out from daily life as the most important thing is my own family. I cannot make Bill Clinton a better family man. I cannot get justice visited upon the Kennedy family. I cannot make anyone else's family right, although I often try. I am powerless to make Hollywood a less warping influence on children and parents. But I can do something about my own family, by investing my time in it.

I have no idea any longer what it means to be a "conservative." There are a lot of conservatives, and they all seem to have a different idea about what the label means. I know that for me it means conserving my family, providing for them, protecting them, and leaving a legacy of my affection for my son. A great deal of my life when I was younger would have made for a very poor example indeed. But I think I've learned some things, sometimes the hard way. And I try a lot harder now to do the right thing.

I can't control what's in the GOP platform, but I have a little control over what Tommy remembers of me and what a father is supposed to be. I can't have any impact on the debate about going back to the gold standard, but I can let my parents know how much I appreciate their sacrifices for me over the years. The thing I can control right now is that for one more day Tommy has his gray-haired father pick him up at school instead of a nanny. I'm going to take care of that right now.

Ben Stein is a writer, actor, and lawyer in Malibu, California, and a regular contributor to The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN PRAISE OF THE Manipulative, Judging, DISCRIMINATING Family

BY

DIANE MEDVED

Listen to the new "dirty words," and you'll find they have little to do with sex. As a society, we're way past that. The terms that shock us now have to do with *thought.*

For example, it's an insult now to be called "judgmental"—though the only way to complete a day is to make constant judgment calls, ranging from "Is it really going to rain?" to "Is this proposal for a new contract acceptable?" I've even heard of employee evaluation sessions where the boss begins, "I don't want to sound judgmental, but...".

This is part of a grand abandonment of universal standards. When standards of behavior go, then "discrimination" between people and ideas and "manipulation" of others to achieve a goal are also casualties. In a land where mountains are sliced into level playing fields, any term that implies that one thing is superior to another is out.

In this context, just about any cluster of people can now be considered a "family." And an increasingly wide spectrum of human arrangements, ranging from single-parent households to homosexual couples, is receiving the honor once reserved for the traditional unit of married husband and wife. And why not, if we disallow discriminating judgments?

Use the definition of family universally accepted just 25 years ago—something about people related by blood, marriage or legal adoption—and you're sure to hear hisses. Today's favored criteria for "family" are *love* and *intention of commitment.* Just about any configuration of adults can claim those. Hey, what about a man and several women, as in Biblical polygamy? Or a brother and sister? How about the members of a commune? If Hawaii chooses to recognize gay marriage, then why can't these other types of "families" gain legal recognition too?

No reason why not, if the purpose of a family is as often portrayed nowadays. Magazines, TV programs, and special-interest groups proclaim that modern families exist solely for *mutual love and support.* With an emphasis on the here-and-now, the goal of family relationships is to keep members feeling good.

Certainly such positive feelings are important. But in my work as a psychologist, I see something more thoughtful and significant in the words and behaviors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of truly thriving and successful families. The best families pursue a more farsighted and—dare I say it?—noble purpose: *to civilize and elevate* each of the participants, in a hierarchy of authority and wisdom.

Flourishing families look beyond the moment to a lifelong pursuit of dignity, spirituality, and proper conduct. In religious terms, it's striving to act in a more godly fashion; secularists might prefer to say that elevation means maximizing the highest levels of human potential, and minimizing base, animalistic behavior. Of course, manipulation, discrimination, and judgments are required for both of those kinds of striving.

Last summer I observed an incident that illustrates how the efforts of families to elevate can be undermined. As a founding mother of my children's new Jewish elementary school, Menorah Academy, I was involved in selecting our first staff members. In the process of interviewing Mrs. Margolis, an excellent teacher whose enthusiasm and creativity were boundless, a difference in values nearly lost her to us.

We were starting our school from scratch, with no furniture, no textbooks, and no materials, so Mrs. Margolis volunteered that, should she sign on, she could bring her collection of 600 well-loved children's books. "How wonderful!" our principal responded, "Tell me about them." Mrs. Margolis reeled off a raft of familiar titles, classics every American child has pored over. Then she listed some more recent acquisitions; one of the books she mentioned was *Everybody Poops.*

"Tell me about that one," our principal responded with curiosity.

"It's a marvelous little book that lets children see that people are a type of animal," Mrs. Margolis explained. "Just like the animals, we poop! We're really all the same."

"I think perhaps we ought to pass on that one," our principal replied. And the conversation went on to textbooks, the school calendar, and curricula.

But the next day Mrs. Margolis phoned me—appalled.

"How could anyone be offended at an innocuous little book like that?" she demanded. Diplomatically, she hinted that we were narrow-minded. That we might even be the sort who would censor what our children could read. If we could go so far as to deep-six *Everybody Poops,* who knows where we might take it? How restrictive, to be told she couldn't read a colorful little book about natural animal activities!

But civilization and elevation, I suggested, require discrimination. Most fundamentally, they require discrimination between animal-like behavior and actions animated by logic and lofty goals. Parents in the most cohesive and trouble-free families painstakingly teach their children to respond not to instinct or emotions ("If it feels good, do it"), but to rules of consideration, politeness, and ethics. They arm their children to counter instinct and emotion in favor of divinely created—or simply sensible—rules of right and wrong.

Yes, everybody poops, but animals poop whenever they want to, without raising their hands to leave the room first. Everybody poops, but animals leave it for others to step in. Everybody poops, but animals give it no thought, being always in the here-and-now. Jewish children in our school also poop—after they're excused, in the bathroom, with the stall door closed. They clean themselves, flush, and wash their hands. They leave the bathroom and formally thank God for the miracle of a body that works so harmoniously.

We were lucky to obtain the services of Mrs. Margolis, who is beloved in our little school and succeeding with our individualized curriculum beyond our hopes. And she's caught on: Read to them, yes! Mark Twain, L. M. Montgomery, George Washington, C.S. Lewis. Let them hear phrases that lift the spirit, that demonstrate the thoughtfulness with which men and women can enrich their souls. And let them learn about animals—their habitats, their characteristics, their activities. But please, don't equate my children, Sarah, Shayna, and Danny, with them. We're not all the same, even though everybody poops.

Civilizing and elevating requires inculcating (or shall I say manipulating?) other lessons into children. For instance, respect for elders is an idea battered in today's media, where father Homer Simpson is a buffoon. But wise parents know that early and consistent insistence on it minimizes the chances that children will go wrong. In practical terms, this means requiring deferential behaviors ("yes, sir," calling adults by "Mr." and "Mrs." rather than first names, standing when someone senior enters the room), and no talking back. By its nature, respecting elders refines and elevates, by honoring the wisdom of experience over the hedonistic physicality of youth.

The media's penchant to hallow children and denigrate elders has had a broad negative impact. In my psychology practice, I've seen the sad results of parents reluctant to impose high standards lest their children dislike them or view them as out of date. I've seen many baby-boomers themselves resist moving beyond their extended adolescences into the parental role. Convinced in their teenage years of the wisdom and invincibility of youth (recall that *Time*'s 1969 "Man of the Year" was college students), it's difficult for them to say their children are wrong, and discipline when required.

But children naturally act selfishly, are shortsighted, and attracted to all sorts of mischief. It takes purposeful guidance to combat the "gimme that candy" mentality that can eventually turn into a "gimme that cocaine" addiction. No matter what current child-rearing books may counsel, loving parents will use any reasonable means to insist that belligerent children meet standards of behavior, including corporal punishment as a back-up when necessary. As the matriarch of one successful family I know puts it, "I couldn't care if my children liked me—I had to make *them* likeable."

A determination to civilize and elevate raises the task of family-making above mere catering to immediate needs. It gives a long-term meaning to each family action, as a step toward a grander vision, a lofty ideal. With this uplifting goal, individuals can better judge which course offers the greatest advancement, discriminate between those actions that enhance progress and those that retard it, and manipulate their efforts and environment to reach an enduring end.

This is a uniquely human capacity, and it raises us above the bears, dogs, and monkeys who will never care about how, when or where they poop.

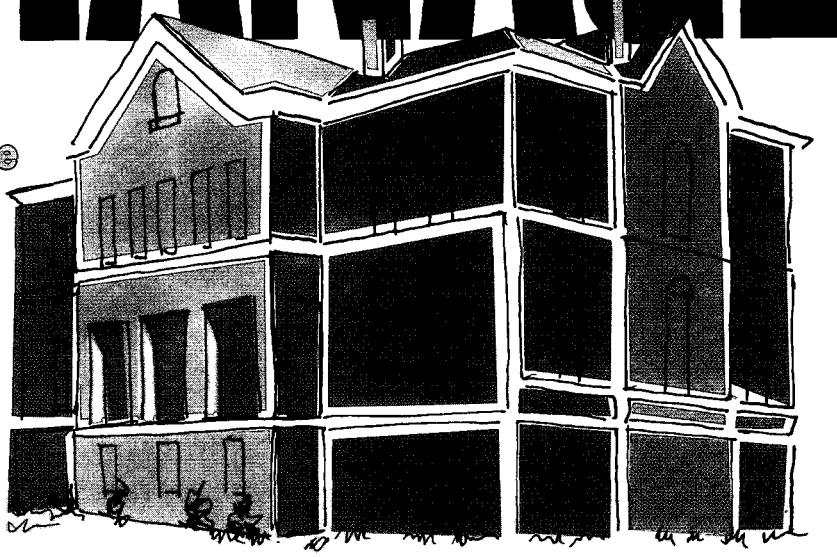
Diane Medved is a psychologist in private practice and author of four non-fiction books, including The American Family: Discovering the Values that Make Us Strong *(co-authored with Dan Quayle).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIVE THE ORPHANAGE

(...but don't expect help from child-care professionals)

By **Richard B. McKenzie**



Larr's Cottage at The Home

A funny thing has happened in the debate over what to do with the parentless, neglected, abused, or abandoned children in our midst: No one has asked those Americans who earlier found refuge from such problems in orphanages whether similar institutions might be useful today. Defenders of our current welfare and foster-care systems—today's alternatives to orphanages—often disparage orphanages as cold and loveless places. But that is unfair. I know, because I grew up with 200 girls and boys in a North Carolina orphanage in the 1950s.

In my early childhood, before going to The Home in Barium Springs, North Carolina, I ran the streets of Raleigh. My parents divorced when I was five, my alcoholic mother committed suicide when I was ten, and my father's alcoholism left him unable to care for my brother and me. Few children at the orphanage were true orphans—that is, with both parents dead—but close to two-thirds were missing one parent. All were disadvantaged due to family breakdown, poverty, abuse, or neglect.

The Home was a private institution established in 1891 and funded almost entirely by the Presbyterian Church of North Carolina and by private contributions. The average age of the children who arrived in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s was seven to eight years old. The average length of stay was ten years—generally, until the child finished high school. The three most important principles at The Home were work, sports, and religion. We lived in cottages holding about 25 children each and ate in a central dining hall. We had our own grade 1-12 school, and our own sports teams, which were generally successful against much larger area schools. Beginning in the mid-1950s we were all given a chance to receive a college education. What we could not pay for from our wages and savings was covered by donations to The Home from individuals and churches.

We worked long and hard—up to 50 hours a week in the summer for no pay—manning the farm; the carpentry, plumbing, and printing shops; the canning, rendering, and laundry operations. During the school year we worked every day too, either before dawn or after school. We went to church several times a week. Everyone on the staff—few of whom were trained child-care professionals—stressed basic morals for the "good and honorable life."

Life in The Home was no picnic. We got two baths and changes of clothes a week. We went to school barefoot until late November. We slept in unheated "sleeping porches." And we went without a lot, not least missing the hugs and personal encouragement that children in families take for granted.

But The Home offered some things in return. We had structure and stability. We had security in the knowledge that The Home would always be there (no mean advantage for children whose families had failed them). We had 1,500 acres of pastures and woods to grow up in and dozens of brothers and sisters.

Undoubtedly some orphanages were not good places. There were certainly some children who went through my Home who did not thrive. As a group, however, we have outpaced the general population on almost all social and economic measures. I know because I have spent a considerable portion of the last two years looking through records and surveying the remaining alumni of The Home.

The rates of divorce, arrest, dependence on public assistance, and reliance on psychological care for persons who grew up in my orphanage are far below

Illustration by Deanne D. Yelman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those reported for the general population. The rate at which alumni report being "very happy with life" is twice the rate of Americans as a whole. (See sidebar, "The Children of Barium Springs Orphanage.")

This satisfaction may be partly explained by the fact that the median income of alumni is significantly higher than that of their counterparts in the general population, which may in turn be explained by their higher levels of schooling and their greater rate of savings. When asked, many of these individuals who supposedly grew up the hard way attribute their success directly to the discipline and work ethic instilled in them by the orphanage.

Clearly, the many good people who worked at The Home knew something about how to break the cycles of poverty, abuse, and neglect that most of us had known before arriving on their doorstep. Yet critics of orphanages are not interested in these facts. They are too busy trying to convince the public that those of us who were brought up in orphanages were throttled by the experience.

We orphans compare our orphanages not to some theoretical alternative, but to the reality of what we would have faced without them.

A typical example occurred at a talk I recently gave in Minneapolis, where I noted that my research data and my own experience indicate that in cases where loving and responsible parents are not available, orphanages can be the best substitute.

We orphans compare our orphanages not to some theoretical alternative, but to the reality of what we would have faced without them. In my case, the extended family on my father's side were all drunks, and my mother's family did not want us. Foster care and adoption were not options for my brother and me because my father would have harassed anyone who tried to take us in. We needed the boundaries of The Home to keep him at bay. Many other children at The Home likewise needed its protection from their past lives.

I explained that my orphanage was both confining and liberating. Confining because of all the rules and routines relating to work, school, sports, and religion. Liberating because there were defined limits on what we could do wrong (a relief to someone like myself who, prior to The Home, had the unchecked freedom of the streets to do much wrong).

Not all of the house parents were warm, attentive, and loving, but critics who portray orphanage caregivers as cold

Richard B. McKenzie is the Walter B. Gerken Professor at the University of California, Irvine. His book The Home: A Memoir of Growing Up in an Orphanage *was published by Basic Books.*

The Children of Barium Springs Orphanage

Early in 1994, I surveyed more than 300 persons aged 45 to 96 who had lived as children at The Home in Barium Springs, North Carolina. If the claims of orphanage critics are to be believed, these alumni should be a troubled lot. In reality, though, they scored above national averages on almost all measures of social health.

Education. The percentage of alumni of The Home who have high school diplomas, versus that of the total U.S. population age 45 and older, is 88 to 73 percent. For college degrees, the numbers are 31 to 18 percent, and for advanced degrees, 14 to 4 percent.

Unemployment. Alumni had an unemployment rate of 0.6 percent in 1994—less than one-tenth the national average.

Household income. At a time when the mean income for white households headed by someone 45 or older was $42,000, alumni averaged nearly $51,000, even though the alumni are predominantly retired and living in the South (where incomes are lower on average).

Poverty. The poverty rate of alumni was less than 3 percent, half the national rate for white Americans living in families with a head age 45 or over.

Public Assistance. In 1992, 19 percent of the general population was receiving at least one form of public assistance other than Social Security. Less than 4 percent of the alumni have ever been on any form of public assistance (not counting Social Security).

Time in prison. Less than 1 percent of alumni have ever spent time in a state or federal prison or jail, less than half the rate for all white Americans.

Emotional Disorders. Only 8 percent of alumni have ever suffered from a mental or emotional disorder sufficiently severe to warrant the help of a psychologist or psychiatrist, far less than half the national average. Only a fourth of alumni who have had such problems attribute them to their orphanage experiences.

Divorce. The lifetime divorce rate for alumni is 20 percent. In 1990, the percentage of all white Americans who had been divorced was 36 percent for 45-49 year olds, and 29 percent for 50-54 year olds.

Health. During World War II, when the military was turning down nearly 40 percent of draftees from the general population, it rejected a scant 1.4 percent of the boys from The Home.

Attitude toward life. Asked, "Taking all things together, how would you say things are going these days?", 29 percent of the general population indicated in 1994 that they were "very happy," compared to 67 percent of alumni. Fifty-nine percent of Americans said "somewhat happy," versus 29 percent of alumni. And 12 percent of Americans answered "not too happy"—over four times the proportion of alumni who expressed that view.

Overall assessment of childhood experiences. The alumni were asked to indicate how they evaluated their care and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

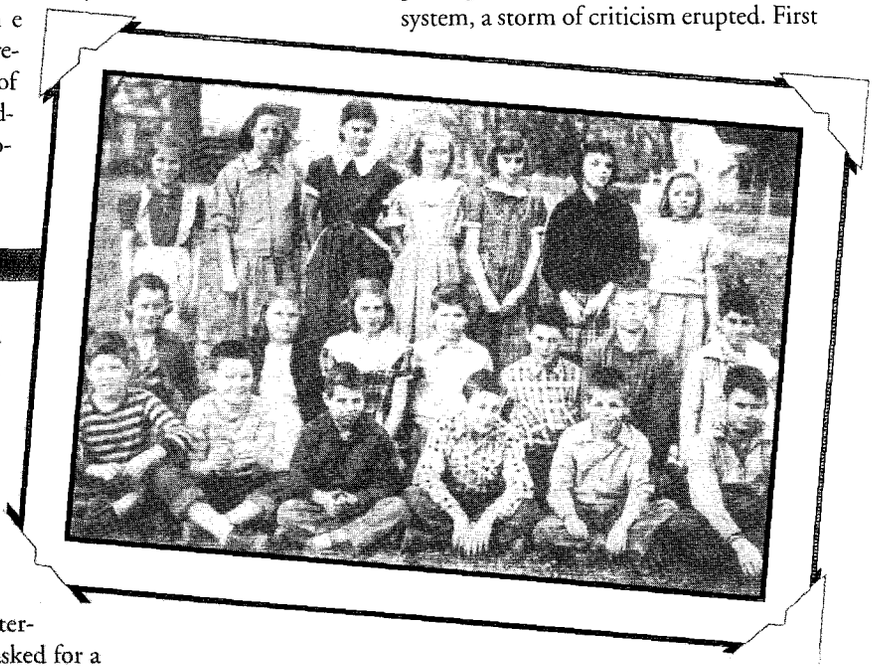
and unconcerned have never had the good fortune of meeting Mr. Albert McClure or Miss Rebecca Carpenter, who, despite their lack of formal training in psychology or child care, devoted their lives to making sure that we learned (albeit reluctantly and imperfectly) the difference between right and wrong. They don't know my last house mother at The Home, who sent me a birthday card every year until her death in the late 1980s. They've never seen the two-foot-by-three-foot framed needlepoint of original verses on what it means to be successful, not in terms of money but in terms of the heart and soul, which my seventh-grade teacher, Mrs. Francis Moore, recently sent me. In short, many caregivers at The Home saw their work as a mission, not a profession.

When one Minneapolis questioner asked me whether orphanages should be brought back for today's children, I admitted that many children today face problems unheard of in the 1950s, but that nonetheless there must be thousands of disadvantaged youngsters who would be better off in an orphanage than in continued poor family and foster care. Orphanages are not the solution for all children at risk, but mightn't they work for some? Shouldn't we study what orphanages once did right and then try to improve upon them?

As I took questions, one woman grew more and more agitated. At last she broke in to announce that she was a professor of child care at one of Minnesota's state universities. She then proceeded to denounce my views and declare that I did not know what I was talking about. With fire in her voice she insisted, "Professor McKenzie, we all know orphanages damaged legions of children. They were terrible places. They destroyed children emotionally."

The harsh reaction of this child-care professor contrasted starkly with the open-minded approach of almost everyone else in the room who was not a child-care professional. When the professor finished her question, the audience was first silent, then burst out laughing. By suggesting that my own experience and the carefully collated evidence of hundreds of my fellow orphans should not to be taken seriously because child-care professionals know better, she had made a professorial ass of herself.

This story illustrates a widespread predisposition among the ranks of child-care professionals. When House Speaker Newt Gingrich suggested in late 1994 that some children might be better served in orphanages than under the current welfare system, a storm of criticism erupted. First



experiences at The Home. Almost 84 percent rated their experiences as "very favorable," 5 percent "somewhat favorable." Less than 1 percent had "somewhat unfavorable" or "very unfavorable" reactions. The rest had mixed reactions, many of whom would still have preferred growing up the way they did to the next best alternative.

These results do not convey the fond memories the vast majority of alumni expressed. Alumni added long-hand commentaries that, when computerized, ran to hundreds of single-spaced pages. When asked for a list of three negative attributes of the way they grew up, only slightly more than half came up with *any* complaint. Lack of affection, loneliness, and not enough time with siblings were the most often cited negatives (all under 17 percent). Unfair and harsh discipline or abuse were mentioned by less than 8 percent of the respondents. Lack of a normal family setting was mentioned by 3 percent. Excessive regimentation was mentioned by 2 percent of the total. The most frequent response—from nearly half of the alumni—was to list no negatives. Almost all would prefer to have grown up the way they did to being placed in foster care. More than four-fifths of the alumni would even prefer to have grown up at The Home than with available members of their own families. Overall, the dominant emotion expressed by alumni of The Home was gratitude.

Similar findings emerge from other orphanages. I recently sent questionnaires to the alumni of nine orphanages supported by various religious, fraternal, and charitable organizations to see whether results at The Home were unusual. Preliminary analysis of more than 1,600 replies suggests that these institutions have produced results comparable to those reported for The Home.

And these good outcomes came at a reasonable cost. At The Home in 1950, total annual expenses per child—covering education, housing, recreation, supervision, basic amenities, and administration—totaled less than $5,000 in 1996 dollars (after allowing for the work the children did on the farms and in the shops).

—Richard McKenzie

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lady Hillary Clinton pronounced any consideration of orphanages "unbelievable and absurd," and columnist Ellen Goodman dismissed orphanages as "Dickensian institutions where children were literally lost." These commentators were just borrowing their criticisms from the child-care professionals. In the words of Ronald Feldman, dean of Columbia University's social work school, the idea of reviving orphanages is "ridiculous."

Over the past year, I have read much of the relevant child-care literature opposed to orphanages, only to be amazed at the dearth of studies on the impact, long- or short-term, of orphanage care on children. The few studies that have been done have attempted to assess the short-run consequences of brief institutional stays, and have either mixed kids from orphanages with kids from mental institutions, or left the nature of "institutionalization" imprecisely defined. As a social scientist myself, I've been dumbfounded to learn how little evidence child-care professionals have to justify their antipathy to orphanages.

Granted, a vast literature exists on the psychological problems that stem from "maternal deprivation." Few persons in or out of the child-care profession doubt the seriousness of any reduced connection between a young child and his mother (or father). I certainly don't, and I recognize that youngsters in orphanages are denied the daily expressions of affection children in stable families receive. The problem that child-care professionals seem all too eager to forget is that many of the children who would be candidates for orphanages have long since been deprived of normal maternal affection. That was the case for my brother and me, as well as many other children I grew up with.

Child-care professionals seem content to restate the obvious: "Children reared in supportive, family-like environments will become better adults, parents, and taxpayers." So what else is new? The more relevant question is whether children from orphanages do better than children who are left in dire conditions with unloving and irresponsible biological or substitute parents.

Believe it or not, that is a question no one has answered. I've read supposedly serious journal articles in which the gravest criticisms of orphanages are that they asked children to work long hours, would not allow the children to show disrespect toward their elders, and kept children for long periods of time. Child-care professionals don't appreciate the therapeutic value of work in the way orphans do. They don't share the views of the vast majority of the 1,600-plus orphans in my database on the importance of religious and moral education. Many so-called experts seem to believe that discipline is out of date. The disdain these people feel for orphanages often reflects their own ideology, not the objective record of the institutions in question.

The three most important principles at The Home were work, sports, and religion.

Many contemporary child-care professionals also refuse to face the reality of today's "foster-care roulette," which causes family-less children to be moved repeatedly among a shifting set of caretakers. When I was at The Home, I at least knew that I wasn't going to be shuffled off someplace else without any warning. The permanence of my situation did not depend on persons receiving a monthly check who might change their mind about whether they wanted me around.

After working cordially with several child-care professionals on my orphans research, only to have them pull out in anger when survey results began to reveal orphanages in a good light, I am convinced that any honest reconsideration of orphanages must be conducted outside the child-care profession. Few of the child-care experts who have denounced the orphanage option know as much about orphanages as they pretend. Few of today's child-care experts have had any personal experience of orphanage settings because most orphanages (or homes for disadvantaged, not severely troubled, children) went out of existence or shifted their mission decades ago. The professionals may have read the orphanage horror stories, but they don't know the "batting averages" of the homes that existed decades ago, and few seem interested in finding out.

Many child-care professionals have personal and professional stakes in the child-care industry as presently organized. Many are convinced they have saved an untold number of children by creating massive welfare and foster-care systems that depend upon public funds directed through government bureaucracies to broken households. They can't imagine that private, sometimes religious, institutions can be better for many children than their own broken families. Besides, the current system is lucrative for the helping professions because it widens their sphere of professional influence to supporting and manipulating whole households, instead of just caring for children.

There are of course exceptions, but on the whole child-care professionals are making appalling efforts to squelch a reasoned discussion of orphanages. While everyone agrees the family is the cornerstone of society, we should not leave unchallenged the dubious assumption that parents cannot forfeit their rights, no matter how much they neglect or abuse their vulnerable young.

A Catholic nun who runs a children's home was once confronted on National Public Radio with the standard family-preservation-at-all-costs arguments. She replied with her own questions: Do we really want to preserve situations where a welfare mother ties her six-year-old son to a bed post so she can go take drugs? Do we mean to maintain situations where the step-father is allowed to sexually abuse young girls with the approval of the mother? Do we mean to accept foster parents who take in numerous children to increase the size of their check and then neglect them?

I'm not arguing that all orphanages were great places. All were imperfect, and all probably harmed some children. But there are enough kids today in sufficiently horrible, intractable circumstances that the orphanage option must be reconsidered. Orphanages will never be ideal solutions to the problems children face, but they can be a significant improvement.

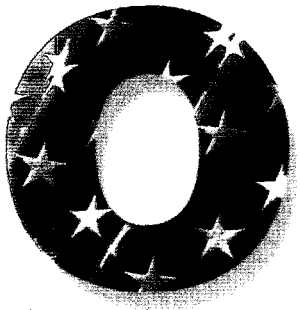
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meet the U.S. Government's Biggest Family Welfare Program

IT'S NOT WHERE YOU'D EXPECT.

BUT IT HAS ALL THE FAMILIAR PROBLEMS.

BY JOHN LUDDY



One of America's biggest social welfare mobilizations—disbursing tens of billions of dollars worth of government-supplied day care, food, child subsidies, health care, housing, and cash payments annually—is run by an agency not normally thought of for its social spending: the U.S. Department of Defense. Even as shrinking budgets are pinching military readiness, the Defense Department is channeling sharply increased funding into human welfare programs. Subsidies to parents and children now consume fully one out of every ten dollars devoted to "defense." Most worrisome of all, today's military has childrearing policies that recreate some of the worst aspects of our welfare system. There is now no better place in America to be an unwed mother than in the armed forces.

Support costs for military families began to rise with the massive, permanent mobilizations of the Cold War. As military staffing grew to several million to meet the Soviet threat, the mostly bachelor force that had existed until World War II was no longer realistic. As early as 1960, the number of dependents living on military support actually exceeded the number of active troops. With the end of the draft in 1973, the military again increased its social benefits to meet recruiting goals and entice troops to re-enlist.

But whether it's having babies or growing corn, subsidizing an activity will bring more of it, and today military dependents outnumber active-duty military personnel 2.4 million to 1.6 million. Family-related costs to the Department of Defense amount to upwards of $25 billion a year, including family housing, additional pay for troops with dependents, day care, family separation allowances, adoption expenses, military schools, and other family-support funds. Dependents consume 62 percent of the military's medical funds—more than $10 billion a year.

Indeed, $25 billion of Defense Department spending on family support is actually $3 billion more than the Navy will spend this year developing and buying new ships, submarines, and aircraft. It exceeds what the Army, Navy, and Air Force each spend on their worldwide operations in a year. It equals nearly half of the Army's total budget. All this when many analysts are questioning current military readiness and the Clinton administration's claim that it can simultaneously fight two wars.

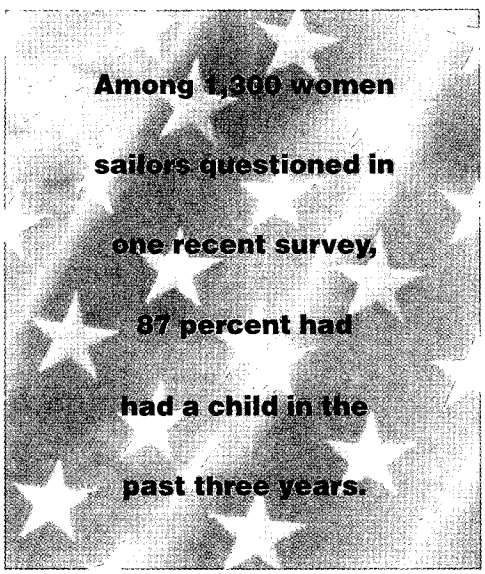
Family housing expenditures illustrate the way defense priorities have been twisted. In 1985, when the total defense budget peaked at $402 billion (in inflation-adjusted 1996 dollars), the family housing account totaled $4 billion, or about one percent. Procurement of new weapons and equipment was $136 billion, or 34 percent of total spending. But while total defense spending tumbled 39 percent by fiscal year 1996 (to $246 billion), and procurement has declined 71 percent (to $39 billion), the family housing account remained at about $4 billion—a much bigger slice of a much smaller defense pie.

To be sure, basic support of military families is justified. Career personnel cannot be expected to forego having a family indefinitely, and these families must be cushioned from the frequent relocations, overseas deployments, absent parents, and other hardships of a military career. However, half of all enlistees depart after serving just one term, so only a minor part of all military dependent support can be justified as investment in career soldiers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discouraging pregnancy more generally among active military personnel would be wise. Until recent years, pregnancy was reason for discharge or transfer from most military postings. Civilians to whom this sounds harsh must remember the special nature of military service, with its peculiar hazards and rigors, as well as the life-and-death importance of unit readiness, and the high morale that comes from equal treatment and shared sacrifice among military personnel. Individuals who enlist in the armed forces surrender numerous personal rights that don't mesh with the responsibilities of national defense.

Many military experts see married persons as poor candidates for entry-level enlistment, and believe that during their first tour of duty, young male and female enlisted personnel should be forbidden to marry—much less have children. This is precisely the intent of the policy that Gen. Carl Mundy, then Commandant of the Marine Corps, announced in 1993. Mundy had watched marriage upon marriage among young Marines disintegrate under the challenges of combining entry-level service with fledgling marriages. He had noticed, too, that Marines who were distracted from their missions were less likely to return from them. Believing that preventing this inherent conflict of loyalties from the outset would be pro-family *and* militarily sensible, he attempted to make it official policy. Liberal critics like Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.) ferociously attacked Mundy's decision, however, and President Clinton swiftly rescinded the order.



The military's current marriage policy is extremely costly—and, where illegitimacy is concerned, troubling. Navy policy toward pregnancy epitomizes the moral equivocation of today's new-age military. In the panicky, post-Tailhook Navy, the burden of pregnant sailors is exceeded only by the refusal among senior leaders to do anything about it. Each year, up to 18 percent of Navy women become pregnant. One-third of these never marry during their pregnancy. Nearly 75 percent of these pregnancies occur among 20- to 24-year-old junior enlisted women. Among 1,300 women sailors questioned in one recent survey, 87 percent had had a child in the past three years.

Under these circumstances, why would the Navy adopt a policy like the one it announced in February 1995, which further encourages women to become pregnant? Mirroring the general Clinton administration approach of paying lip service to military readiness while always placing individual desires ahead of military needs, the policy states that a "full complement of highly trained personnel is essential to maintaining operational readiness in deployable units," but nonetheless "pregnancy and parenthood are compatible with a naval career." This ignores the seriousness of having military units staffed by persons who cannot deploy to their assignments. It also overlooks the harm that can come to children whose mothers are deployed abroad.

How does this policy work? Consider an unmarried female Petty Officer Third Class. If she becomes pregnant, she may immediately request special permission to move out of barracks or off ship and live off base at government expense. After her twentieth week of pregnancy, commanders are required to grant such a request. Nine months' housing allowance amounts to approximately $2,400. After the woman's child is born, she receives 45 days of paid maternity leave, worth an additional $1,800. Throughout her pregnancy, our sailor is entitled to free obstetrical care, and free delivery. Her infant immediately becomes eligible for years of day care, medical and dental care, recreational and educational subsidies, and other benefits. Financial costs in just this first year run to many thousands of dollars.

Other costs are more difficult to quantify. This sailor left a gap in her unit. Her commander had to spend time and effort to replace her. Someone else had to do extra work—including, if she was in a deploying unit, going to sea in her place for up to 6 months. There was undoubtedly some resentment and damage to morale.

The only current disincentive to pregnancy is a warning that women will be returned to sea duty once their maternity period ends. But even this the Navy can choose to ignore (indeed, for the infant's sake one might hope for such a decision). No sailor-mother may be held accountable in any way for the inconvenience, expense, and damage to readiness caused by her actions, because the policy expressly states that "periods of absence because of pregnancy or associated medical care shall not be the basis for downgrading remarks" on her service record.

The Navy has simply abandoned all moral leadership and responsibility to its young men and women (and their children). It refuses to view pregnancy as a disqualifying condition for military action. It draws no distinction between married and unmarried servicewomen who become pregnant. It doesn't demand financial support and other forms of paternal responsibility even though 70 percent of the fathers of military births are also in the military. In a striking departure from public sentiment, the Navy does not even require the pregnant servicewoman to identify her child's father. As in the civilian welfare system, that child simply becomes a dependent of Uncle Sam.

The Pentagon's family and pregnancy policies not only waste billions of dollars, they erode a service culture that rests on personal sacrifice—cultivating instead an individualism that sacrifices military necessity (and the welfare of children and families) to personal desires. If our military's civilian and uniformed leaders lack the wisdom and fortitude to prohibit misguided choices among the 19-year-olds standing on our defensive watchtowers, then who exactly will draw the boundaries so necessary to our nation's future?

A former Marine infantry officer, John Luddy is currently a legislative aide to a U.S. Senator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUST READING FOR CAMPAIGN '96

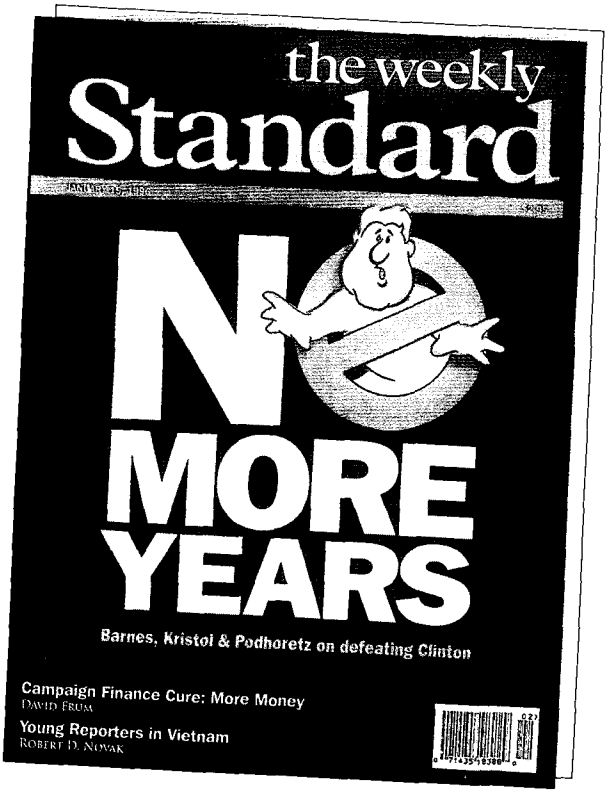
TRY 6 FREE ISSUES OF THE WEEKLY STANDARD

The bold new magazine of politics and policies

BILL KRISTOL
Editor and Publisher

FRED BARNES
Executive Editor

JOHN PODHORETZ
Deputy Editor



"I don't think you can do without it if you want to know what's going on in Washington." — Robert Novak, Syndicated Columnist

You've never seen a magazine like THE WEEKLY STANDARD. It's provocative. Unpredictable. Carefully reasoned. Visionary. Conservative to the core.

It doesn't just report on the news, it *influences* it. Under the leadership of William Kristol, Fred Barnes, and John Podhoretz, three of Washington's most respected voices, THE WEEKLY STANDARD is attracting many of today's most brilliant writers and strategists. The collective power of their ideas is leading the charge of America's conservative movement. That's why House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich says "THE STANDARD is required reading up here. You have to see it to be part of the conversation."

Reply now and try 6 FREE ISSUES!

For FASTEST SERVICE Call Toll Free!
1-800-810-2466

RETURN THIS REQUEST FORM TODAY!

the weekly Standard

EXCLUSIVE NO-RISK OFFER
6 FREE ISSUES!

YES! I want to try 6 FREE ISSUES of THE WEEKLY STANDARD! If I like them, send me 26 more (32 in all) for four easy monthly payments of only $9.99 each – saving me 47% off the newsstand price. If it's not for me, I'll simply write "cancel" on the bill, return it, and owe nothing. The six free issues are mine to keep.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill me

Name _____

17007A3

Address _____

City/Town _____

State _____ Zip _____

Send to: THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96110, Washington, DC 20078-7769

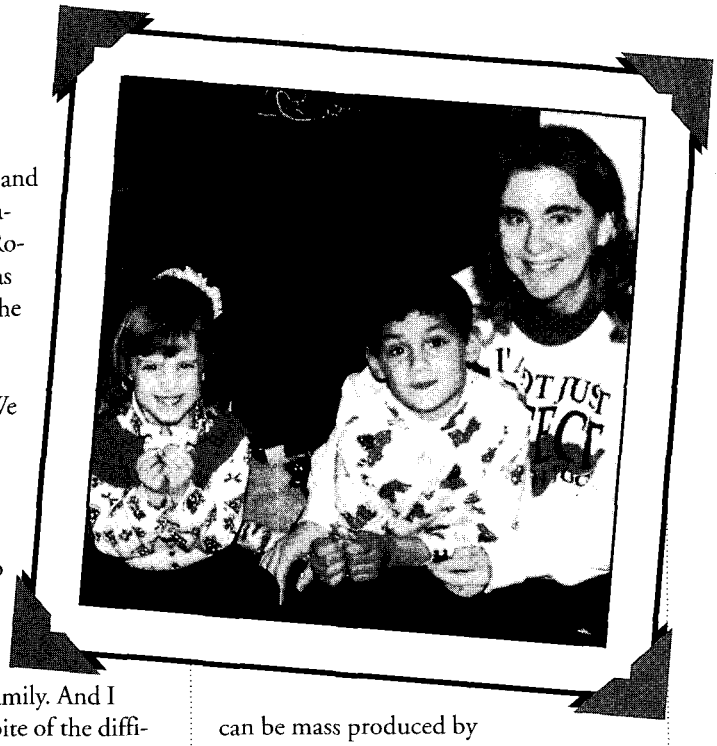
THE WEEKLY STANDARD is published 50 times annually. Please allow 3 to 5 weeks for delivery of first issue. Cover price is $2.95. Rates good only in U.S.A.

Vers. B

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS



PARENT, CHILD, CHARITY, AND CHANGE

By Jennifer Roback Morse

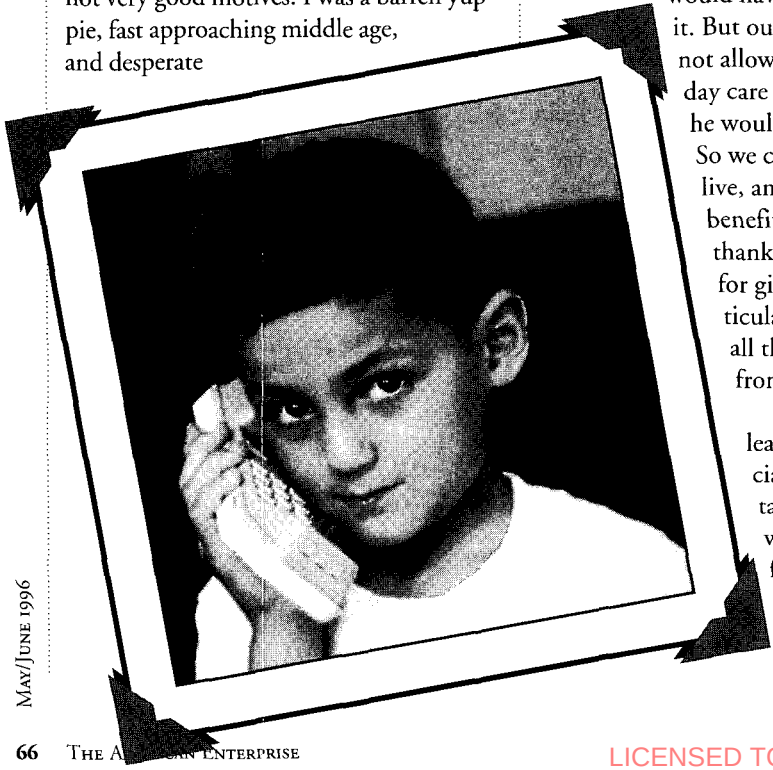
I am a Ph.D. in economics who started out with theories about families, and theories about government, and theories about charity. Becoming a mom changed my theories. This is my conversion story.

Like many career women, my inclination was to put my kids in day care. Hire a nanny. Do not allow the presence of children to hinder career advancement. Be as much like a man as possible. In my case, it was not radical feminism that influenced my thinking, but rather conservative economics, with its emphasis on income-maximizing and achievement. But once my children arrived, my views changed.

You see, the particular children I received gave me an opportunity to participate in continuing personal act of charity. Mind you, I did not intend to do any such thing. I stumbled into my situation with not very good motives. I was a barren yuppie, fast approaching middle age, and desperate for motherhood. My husband and I adopted a two-and-a-half-year-old boy from a Romanian orphanage. He was described as healthy, but the adoption agency actually knew little more than his name and his birthdate. We plunged in.

If we had known what we were getting into, we would have been afraid to try, for Nico turned out to be developmentally delayed and emotionally disturbed. But there was no turning back for our family. And I can honestly say that in spite of the difficulties he causes, our son has changed us for the better.

As it turned out, we gave birth to a daughter six months after our son's arrival. Anne's development has been smooth and undemanding; if we had placed her in day care, we probably would have gotten away with it. But our son's situation did not allow us to do this. In day care all day every day, he would not have made it. So we changed the way we live, and our daughter has benefited as well. Now I thank God every day for giving me these particular children, and for all that I have learned from them.



One thing I learned is that no social program could take the place of what we have done for Nico. Children must be raised one by one. There are no shortcuts that can be mass produced by state, "village," or corporation. Going from being a statistic to being our son was what saved Nico.

I also learned that being a mother is the most important thing I will ever do. I had had great fantasies of changing the world with my brilliance, and it was with reluctance that I abandoned my view of myself as the center of the universe. I am, of course, the center of my children's universe, but messy pants and temper tantrums were not the sort of glory I had earlier envisioned.

I learned to put one foot in front of the other, to do what has to be done even when it seems too arduous. Along the way, a message from long ago and far away became immediate and intimate: "Sell all your possessions and come follow me."

Oh, He means me! I had always thought that message was for someone else. It was caring for particular children, loving particular people, that opened my heart to the grace of God. That grace gave me what I needed to do the seemingly impossible job.

This is why I have come to believe that bureaucratized social programs are no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

substitute for the giving from one person to another that is the true meaning of charity. The state stands between the recipient and the donor, shielding both from the humanity of the other. The receiver becomes a problem instead of a human person in whom we might see the face of God. The giver becomes a cash dispenser, instead of a human person who might be transformed by the experience of giving.

We deceive ourselves if we think we can have the results of charity without the personal reality of charity.

Jennifer Roback Morse is associate professor of economics at George Mason University.

CHARITY DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

By Ernest W. Lefever

When I hear tales of how tightly stretched family finances are today, and that American households can't possibly assist less fortunate neighbors, I recall my boyhood.

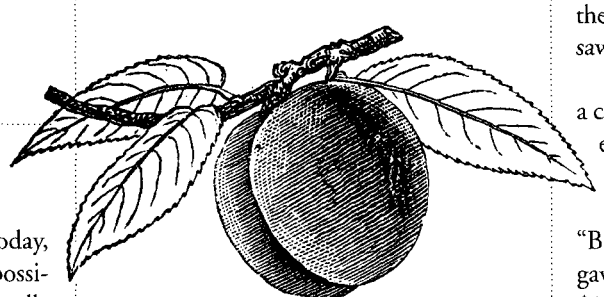
I grew up in York, Pennsylvania, during the Great Depression, the third of five sons of pious, blue-collar parents who came from the farm and would today be called evangelicals.

With his sixth-grade schooling, my father worked for 46 years in the York Corporation machine shop, where he was known for his precision and as the Bible-reading foreman. He embodied the work ethic, was insatiably curious about everything mechanical, and believed his sons should learn to work with their hands. I became an apprentice cabinetmaker (and later a Yale Ph.D. and founder of the Ethics and Public Policy Center).

My mother, who taught grade school before marriage, was an avid reader. She devoured Dickens and historical novels from the family library that also included an annotated set of Shakespeare and well-known Victorian authors. Among her favorite poems were Milton's "On His Blindness," Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe," and Kipling's "If." Mother never stopped teaching,

She told us *McGuffey Reader* stories that unashamedly proclaimed Christian virtues like compassion, honesty, temperance, hard work, and patriotism. Both parents taught Sunday School. The Bible,

MOTHER CANNED PEACHES FROM OUR YARD FOR THE POOR. SHE FED VAGRANTS ON OUR BACK PORCH.



the dictionary, and the Sears catalogue were the three most consulted books in our household.

The Depression struck when I was ten, but we considered ourselves fortunate, even when for a year or two Dad worked only half-time and had to provide for all seven of us on $20 a week. Having lived sparsely since birth, my parents were well prepared for hard times. We never thought of ourselves as poor.

We lived in a modest brick duplex, but had no car, telephone, or life insurance—luxuries in our eyes. When my parents died, their entire estate of less than $2,000 was willed to the church.

By necessity Dad's wages went for bare essentials like food and clothes, and by conviction a significant portion was given to the poor. Every month of their lives, through thick and thin, my parents remembered the needy in our church and community.

They accepted the biblical injunction to tithe—the first ten-percent "belonged to God," as Mother put it. Thereafter, the real giving began. I earned 50 cents a week delivering the evening paper and gave the first nickel to the church and a second to the family. We children never received a cash allowance, and our Christmas gifts were limited to $3 each. With only 40 cents' disposable income, I was unable to buy the bicycle I desperately wanted, but I assembled one on my own from discarded parts.

Dad was treasurer of our local church's poor fund and wrote monthly $20 checks for needy members. Beyond his substantial giving to the church, Dad wrote checks for lepers in Nigeria and for the Near East Foundation to help the "starving Armenians." Once, a Near East representative, encouraged by occasional checks, appeared unannounced at our house to solicit further funds. He beat a hasty retreat when he saw the threadbare rugs.

Dad was a soft touch. One winter day a certain Steve Stoltzfuss expressed interest in joining our church and asked Dad for a loan until he could find a job. On the pleading of our pastor—"Brother Lefever, a soul is at stake"—Dad gave him about $25; he had to cash in a $100 certificate of deposit. Stoltzfuss and the money were never seen again. Dad's lament: "I'm as harmless as a dove and as dumb as a jackass."

Mother canned peaches from our yard for the poor. She fed vagrants on our back porch (Dad claimed they had marked our house!), and for two summers we took in a "fresh air boy" from Brooklyn. I also recall skipping an occasional meal to contribute to the nonpartisan "Spanish War Relief."

"We are put on earth to help others," Mother often said. First, we must be responsible for ourselves, and then reach out to those in need regardless of race or creed, we were taught. Helping them was primarily the duty of the family and the church, not the federal government, we believed, despite FDR's New Deal. Both parents pointed to the Mormons "who look after their own." When Dad retired, however, he accepted Social Security checks because he had paid into the system.

We boys knew we could expect no financial help from home for college, but we had been given something vastly more important—the disciplines of thrift, self-reliance, and deferred gratification

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that enabled each of us work our way through college. For years, I proudly cleaned dorm toilets for 25 cents an hour.

Looking back, it may seem odd that my parents gave more money to charity than to their own sons. Yet the tradition they represented might commend itself to the present generation.

Ernest W. Lefever is a senior fellow of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C.

A DAY AT THE ZOO

By Raymond Wisher

I was sitting in Juvenile Court one morning waiting for my turn to testify and found myself watching the antics of the youths in attendance. I saw gangs sitting together, supporting their friends standing trial, even though there is a sign saying that only family members are allowed inside the court room. I listened to serious repeat felons like robbers, dope-dealers, and burglars laughing and giggling, pointing their fingers at their victims forced to sit silently mere feet from them. I watched as the judge, in his black-robed splendor, tried to dispense justice without effect. I closed my eyes to the scene, not wanting to see any more of this foolishness.

Instead, I concentrated on the voice of the judge as he reprimanded one offender after another. In the background I could hear friends of the defendants snickering. It isn't the judge's fault, I thought. In our state, until just recently, the Health and Rehabilitative Services department had jurisdiction over juvenile offenders. They controlled the penalties and the punishments, making a joke of the whole system. This year the state changed the jurisdiction to something called Juvenile Justice. The government says it's different, but it seems like I see the same people and the same ineffectiveness. But then who am I to question politics?

I opened my eyes and leaned forward as a young black offender was led to the bench by his father and a guard. The boy showed no emotion as the judge read the charge of grand theft auto. The victim, a

I LISTENED TO SERIOUS REPEAT FELONS LAUGHING AND POINTING THEIR FINGERS AT THEIR VICTIMS.

frail elderly woman, stood a few feet to his left, silently listening to the judge. She had a look of respect and confusion in her eyes. A state counselor spoke up to say the young man was already in a program as a result of earlier offenses and "doing real well." I couldn't imagine what a social worker considers "real well." Not killing someone for a week straight?

During all of this I waited to see if the judge would at least order the young felon to apologize to the victim. I figured it was her only car. It had been stolen and maliciously wrecked, as is the usual order, leaving her stranded in a world where having transportation is vital to survival. Yet no apology was ordered or offered, just a sullen look from the juvenile who refused to even acknowledge the old woman's presence. The social worker told the judge that the defendant was in a program called Wilderness Camp. I had heard about the place. It's a woodland retreat where kids are supposed to learn to feel good about themselves as they canoe and camp. If what I heard was correct the number of felonies this 16-year-old kid had committed was around 40. I couldn't help but wonder how a six foot, 150-pound multiple felon could still be considered a child. But that is the wisdom of the system.

Finally the judge ordered the juvenile, who pled "no contest," to remain in the program. In what appeared to be a last-minute thought he also ordered the juvenile to pay his victim $50 a month starting in three months. I imagined the kid thinking, "Great, now I'll have to steal three more stereos to make the payment."

I looked around to see what kind of impact a guilty plea and sentencing had had on the other offenders in court. Most weren't even paying attention. They were laughing and messing around with their friends. I just shook my head silently.

Oh, by the way, the defendant in my case was found guilty of his twenty-second felony, this one an occupied residential burglary. His sentence? He's going to that Wilderness Camp to learn to paddle.

Raymond Wisher is a Florida police detective.

TAPS

By David V. Broome

The time is 4 a.m. There is no light as I walk out into the cold morning air. At 04:15 hours, a staff sergeant screams "Fall in!" and two dozen scattered troops suddenly coalesce into three neat columns, standing perfectly still with rifle in hand, prepared for the morning's inspection.

Fortunately on this morning the darkness may conceal small blemishes. Stopping in front of each troop, the sergeants slam their feet together with a terrific crack of the metal plates on their shoes. Occasionally they inform some individual that he must fall out of the formation and repair the inadequate parts of his uniform. Every man wonders, "Did I shave closely enough? Is there a piece of lint on my uniform? Even a tiny thread hanging from a button or seam?"

Once the sergeant passes me without complaint my heartbeat slows to its normal rate. I am ready for duty with other members of the presidential honor guards posted at Arlington National Cemetery. Today the U. S. Vice President and the President of Hungary will lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, with all four military services and the Coast Guard representing their uniforms.

After a short bus ride, the platoons assemble in rank and file from tallest to smallest. The Army, in charge of all joint-service ceremonies, is fortunate to be led by one Sergeant-Major Massey. His booming voice unifies all the soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen into one machine. As the sun dawns, he barks in my ear, *"Rock steady,* young honor guard soldier! Show 'em who the superpower is."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now assembled at the base of the Tomb, I wait impatiently to hear the thundering rounds from the howitzers at the bottom of the hill that will announce the beginning of the ceremony. Standing motionless, already on public display, I observe out of the corner of my eye the amusingly frantic sniffing of the Secret Service dogs.

All at once I jump, nearly losing my military bearing as the first howitzer round bellows through the still cemetery. I feel the percussion as my pantlegs vibrate against my knees. The hoarse voice of the sergeant-major screams for "Army and Marine platoons, for-ward march!" Then I hear the measured tap of the shoes as the first platoons march up to post on the tomb. Next comes the call for Navy and Air Force platoons.

With all five platoons marking time, the commanding officer orders a halt. He is a six-foot-two Army colonel in his ceremonial blues. I look in amazement at the decorations covering the broad expanse of his chest. He comes to a slow, robot-like halt before slamming his heels and raising his sword to salute the tomb and the sacrifice it represents. Sabre in hand, he calls the honor guard to attention before the dignitaries, guests, and tourists.

The VIPs come forward, and the colonel calls the honor guard to present arms. As I snap my M-1 to the center of my body, my cold palms sting from the slap of the wooden riflestock. After the wreath is placed, the band plays an unfamiliar anthem to honor the Hungarian President, followed by the "Star-spangled Banner." Hats come off, hands cover hearts, and the pathos of sorrow mixed with pride swells in my heart.

When the song ends, a lone bugler steps forward to play "Taps." A deafening stillness blankets all. Thoughts of the supreme sacrifice previous men have given for their country remind the soldiers of the seriousness of their duty today. Then leaders take charge of their platoons, and we march away in rhythmic cadence. The ride back to base is quieter than usual.

Senate staffer David V. Broome is a former member of the Air Force Honor Guard, and now serves in the Reserves' 459th Security Police Squadron.

DECORATION DAY

By Blake Hurst

People here still tend graves loyally, and the annual contest between the peony bushes and the weather is a topic of conversation for several weeks before Decoration Day—as Memorial Day is known hereabouts. Peonies are perennials that bloom spectacularly, but only for a short time, and in our area people plant them in cemeteries. If the spring is cool and wet, like it was last year, the blooms don't appear in time. Often, the buds open on schedule but are destroyed by a spring thunderstorm or a strong south wind. But when the weather cooperates, and the cemeteries are covered with peonies, American flags, and bursting flowers on each grave, it truly is a beautiful sight.

My parents have spent each Memorial Day for years taking their grandchildren to the cemeteries where our ancestors are buried. My mother's family is buried around the Lutheran church her brothers and sisters still attend. My father's family is spread over a 30-mile area, as drought, floods, and foreclosure forced generations to move from farm to farm. When I traveled around our county last Memorial Day playing taps for the services held by the American Legion in each local cemetery, I visited several Hursts.

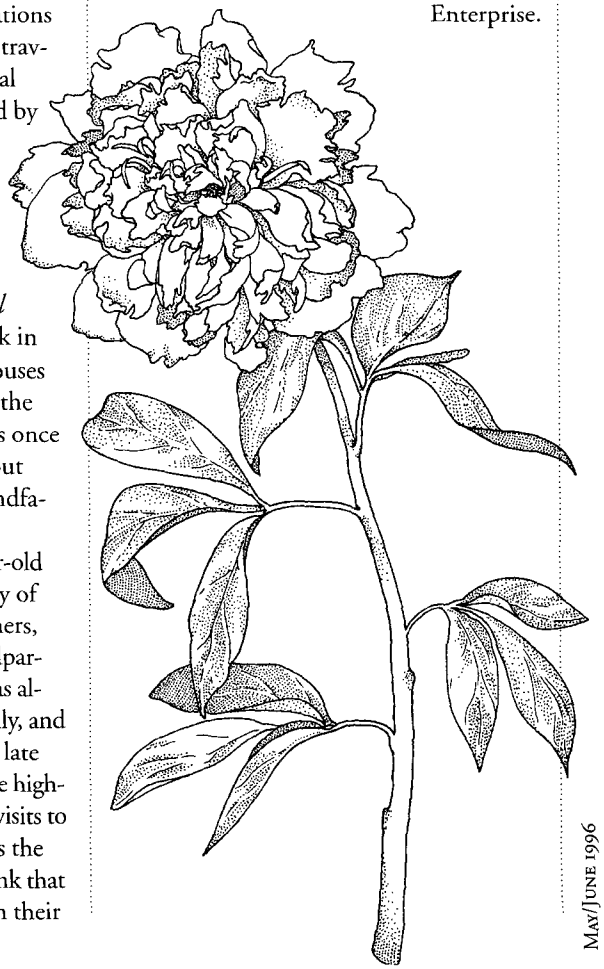
Many Americans today work and raise their families in different time zones from their roots. A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* chronicled people who live and work in one city all week, then join their spouses and children in another city during the weekend. I live surrounded by farms once tilled by my ancestors, and only about two miles from where my great-grandfather was raised.

Just today we celebrated my 9-year-old nephew's birthday, and he had plenty of company for his big day: three brothers, three cousins, two parents, two grandparents, and a great-grandmother. He has always been surrounded by lots of family, and is unaware of how unusual that is in late twentieth-century America. While the highlight of my children's Memorial Day visits to cemeteries with their grandparents is the stop at McDonalds that follows, I think that someday, long after they've forgotten their Happy Meals, they'll appreciate the sense of belonging these trips implanted.

MY PARENTS SPEND EACH MEMORIAL DAY TAKING THEIR GRANDCHILDREN TO THE CEMETERIES WHERE OUR ANCESTORS ARE BURIED.

As part of our wholesale greenhouse business, we deliver plants to garden centers and grocery stores throughout our region, in towns that range in population from 150 to well over a million. For most of the spring, we sell the same varieties of plants in little Westboro as we do in big Kansas City. But the several hundred Memorial Day planters we put together for decorating graves are strictly a small town item. And I think that's a little sad.

Blake Hurst of Tarkio, Missouri, is a regular contributor to The American Enterprise.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the flat tax Economist

A Flat Tax with no Mortgage Deduction Would Probably *Help* Homeowners

by Daniel J. Mitchell

Almost every significant Republican policymaker has condemned the current tax code and endorsed some type of major reform. The flat tax has attracted by far the most support, but many wonder whether the appeal of a simple, fair, pro-growth tax system will prove sufficient to overcome resistance from those who benefit from the status quo. In particular, will opponents be able to undermine the flat tax by highlighting the loss of tax breaks for home mortgage interest?

The real estate lobby hopes the answer is yes. They argue that loss of the mortgage deduction will mean falling real estate values and a larger tax bill for middle-class homeowners. What they don't point out, however, is that only 24 percent of all tax filers even claim the mortgage deduction, that people making over $100,000 are the biggest beneficiaries, and that among families making less than $50,000, only 18 percent of filers take the write-off.

And as is often the case in Washington, those lobbying to keep the mortgage interest break present only one side of the story. While it is certainly true that homeowners who itemize would pay higher taxes if the mortgage deduction were taken away and there were no other changes to the tax code or the economy, the reality is that a flat tax will save money for taxpayers in many ways. These include:

- A larger personal allowance—more than $33,000 for a family of four, which will relieve many families of paying taxes altogether.
- Elimination of double-taxation on investment income, which will not only boost income streams for many households, but also increase national capital formation, thereby reducing interest rates (a major influence on housing affordability).
- Dramatic reductions in income tax compliance costs (which are currently estimated to total an outrageous $157 billion nationwide).
- One low tax rate of somewhere between 17 percent and 20 percent. According to the IRS's own data, a 17 percent rate will mean lower taxes for more than 80 percent of all individual filers of returns. This analysis, incidentally, assumes the economy will not grow any faster, taxpayer behavior will be unchanged, and there will be zero savings from simplicity. More realistic assumptions would significantly boost the number of winners under a flat tax.

These benefits have not stopped the National Association of Realtors, the lobbying group which purports to represent real estate agents, from defending the status quo in federal tax collection. When pressed, they will concede that total tax bills for homeowners will decrease under a flat tax. As a result, they now focus their opposing argument on home values. More specifically, they are the group that paid a consulting firm, DRI/McGraw-Hill, Inc., $70,000 to come up with the estimate that home values could drop by as much as 15 percent under a flat tax.

Little attention has been paid to how the DRI number was derived and whether it has any merit. But no matter, the Realtors have succeeded in generating adverse publicity for the flat tax, and defenders of the current system now invariably cite lower home values as part of their mantra. (By the way, nations such as Ireland, Britain, Australia, Israel, Japan, and Canada all have home ownership rates equal to or greater than the United States, but none of them have a home mortgage interest deduction.)

To be fair, the hypothesis that home values might fall under a flat tax is not unreasonable. After all, even while a flat rate reduces the tax burden on homeowners, it will also give people a clear incentive to increase the amount of money they invest in stocks, bonds, and other *productive* investments. This, in fact, is one reason why economists almost universally expect faster economic growth and higher incomes if a flat tax is enacted. Yet more U.S. capital flowing into productive investments presumably means less into *consumption* investments like homes. To the extent taxpayers shift money out of housing and into financial assets instead, there could be downward pressure on home values.

ONLY 24 PERCENT OF ALL TAX FILERS EVEN CLAIM THE MORTGAGE DEDUCTION, AND PEOPLE MAKING OVER $100,000 ARE THE BIGGEST BENEFICIARIES.

Of course, many economists would view this as a healthy thing for America's future. Observers on both the right and left have long argued that too much of America's national treasure goes into our houses. About half of all net private in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vestment in the U.S. is now directed into owner-occupied real estate—compared to around 35 percent back in 1970. What's left over after buying housing is what's available to build factories, buy workers better tools, and otherwise improve economic output. And today's funnelling of money into real estate is to a considerable extent driven by the tax code. Federal tax breaks for residential real estate totaled $97.2 billion in 1995.

So it wouldn't be all bad if tax changes redirected some of our national investment from new kitchens and sunrooms into the business investments American workers need to compete in the future. Nevertheless, it isn't at all clear that a flat tax would yield a softer home market. (If the flat tax increases capital accumulation, we could end up with more housing *and* more business investment.)

In order to estimate the actual impact of changing tax deductions on home values, many factors must be folded together. To what degree will lower interest rates offset the loss of deductibility? Will rising personal income be a counter-influence keeping housing prices firm? Not surprisingly, the analysis financed by the Realtors did not take these kinds of influences into consideration. In fact, to generate their desired result, DRI had to make several false, even bizarre, assumptions about how a flat tax would operate.

For instance, the study assumed a flat tax with an initial rate of 25 percent, gradually phasing down to 21 percent. One small problem: None of the existing flat tax proposals includes this rate structure. The Armey flat tax has a 20 percent rate for the first two years, then drops to 17 percent in the third year. The Forbes flat tax starts at 17 percent. Needless to say, deliberately overstating the tax rate reduces the benefits of a flat tax. Nor are those high rates necessary to collect the same amount of revenue as at present. Even the Clinton Treasury Department, using static assumptions and not counting the spending cuts of the Armey legislation, estimates that a flat tax would be "revenue neutral" at 20.8 percent.

The DRI study also does not properly estimate the drop in interest rates under a flat tax. Stanford economists Robert Hall and Alvin Rabushka estimate interest rates could drop by a fifth under a flat tax (due to the more friendly treatment of investment income). The Kansas City Federal Reserve Bank estimates the fall could be 25 to 35 percent. Other experts are in similar ranges. But the Realtors' study underestimates the interest rate drop and thus lowballs the positive effects on house-buying.

The Realtors' study also overestimates by as much as 30 percent the average marginal tax rate which applies to homeowners, thus overstating the tax benefits of the mortgage deduction. This suspicious decision was needed to make homeowners look worse off under a new regimen.

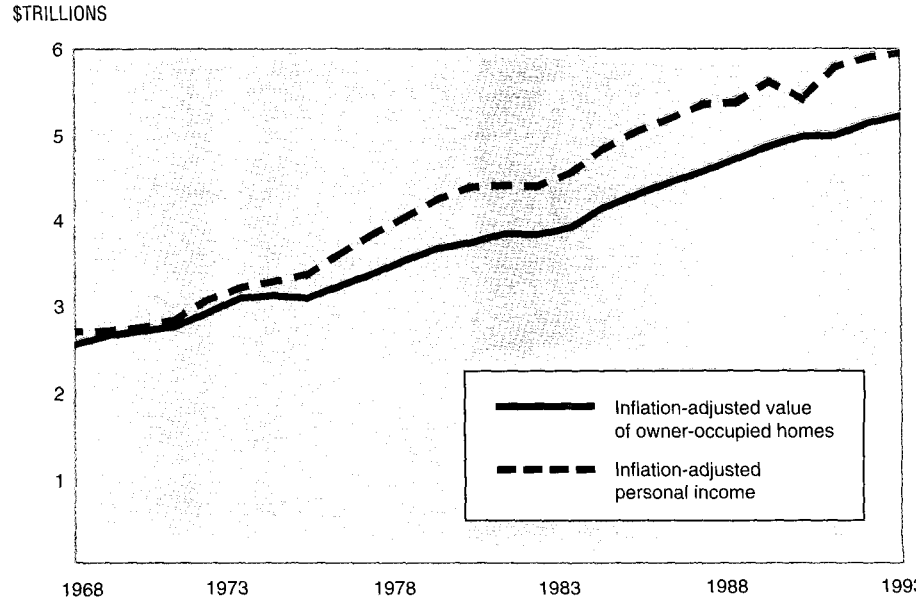
Perhaps most significantly, this gloomy study did not appropriately measure the positive effect of higher incomes on home values. If the flat tax reduces the tax burden and boosts economic growth, the resulting increase in disposable income will allow consumers to buy more of everything, including housing. Since the study admits that the flat tax would increase economic growth, this failure to factor in a positive "income effect" on house buying is rather curious.

Overall, one wonders why this study has been taken so seriously. A report paid for by a wealthy economic interest with a large personal stake in the tax debate should have been greeted with a more skeptical eye than it has been. In this case, it appears that the authors bent over backward to make their results look as bad as possible, yet press reports and politicians have tended to repeat the claims uncritically.

Of course, pointing out why the Realtors' study is not reliable doesn't give us a better estimate of the effects of a flat tax on home values. To be perfectly honest, no one knows what the result will be. We can, however, look at historical data and draw some intelligent conclusions about the likely impact.

As Figure One illustrates, home values are very closely associated with one factor: trends in personal income. As income has risen (and dipped), the value of our houses has followed. Now, if we

FIGURE ONE
Housing values closely follow income trends



Source: *Economic Report of the President*, 1996.

Daniel J. Mitchell is McKenna Senior Fellow in Political Economy at the Heritage Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

know from a wide range of studies that a flat tax will boost economic growth, and know that growing income is closely linked to rising home values, it is hard to imagine that a flat tax is going to depress real estate prices.

Opponents will charge that it is improper to predict the value of homes under a flat tax by using data from the past, because we have never before had a flat tax. According to this critique, the strong link between personal income and home values exists only in a world where mortgage interest is deductible. But if that is so —if the mortgage interest tax deduction is the critical variable—there should be a strong relationship between housing values and the tax value of the deduction.

That is easy to test. I have done so in Figure Two. And the graph clearly indicates that sharp fluctuations in the value of the mortgage interest deduction (due to changes in tax rates over the years) have had no discernible impact on the value of housing.

If the relationships evident in this data continue in the future, the higher growth produced by flat rates could actually cause home values to *rise* following enactment of a flat tax—by somewhere between 7 and 14 percent over five years. Needless to say, this analysis leaves several important issues unaddressed, such as the influence of interest rates. Would the results of a more comprehensive analysis change these findings? Considering that a flat tax would lower interest rates, probably not. But these questions should be studied further.

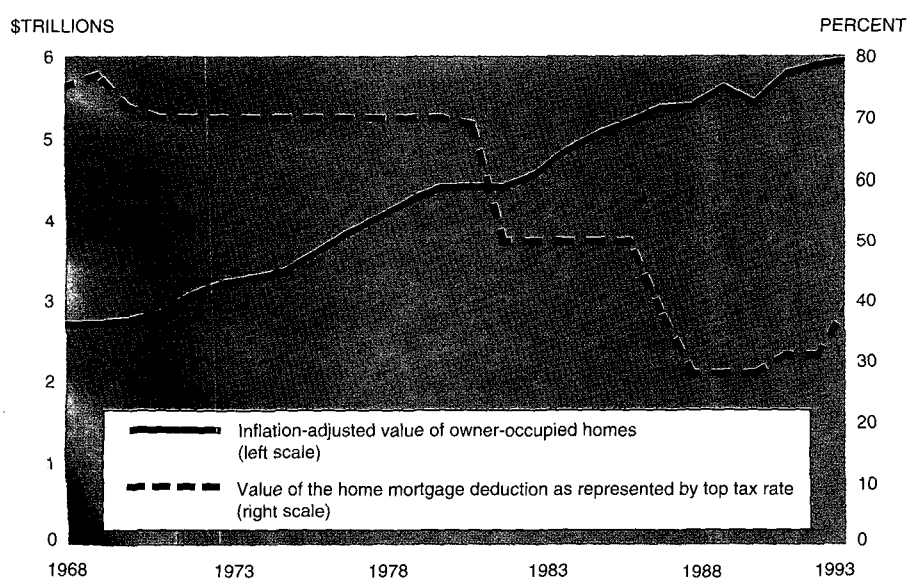
Another area worth study is the degree to which different types of homes would be affected differently. People who own expensive homes are the most likely to itemize, and some have suggested that these are the homeowners who would be most likely to feel a negative impact. Given, however, that these are households who will benefit from lower tax rates, elimination of multiple taxation of capital income, and rising values of financial assets, it is reasonable to ask whether this is a problem. I believe homeowners in high income communities like Greenwich, Connecticut, and Chevy Chase, Maryland, are not likely to be obsessed with small changes in their home values given a tax reform plan that substantially reduces their tax liabilities.

Objections to the flat tax on the grounds of protecting the mortgage deduction may be simply a smokescreen. The flat tax represents a grave threat to rich and powerful interests who make good livings manipulating the tax code for themselves and their clients. Various special breaks under a complicated tax code are the jet fuel that drives a good deal of all Washington lobbying and lawyering. These interest groups will grasp for any excuse to sabotage a simple, flat rate—even if it means peddling misleading information to the citizenry. Historical evidence strongly suggests that a flat tax will be good for homeowners. Perhaps this is why polls of homeowners and realtors (actual realtors, not their Washington trade association) find strong support for the flat tax.

HOME VALUES COULD ACTUALLY *RISE* FOLLOWING ENACTMENT OF A FLAT TAX— BY SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 7 AND 14 PERCENT OVER FIVE YEARS.

A flat tax is not a free lunch, and it is reasonable to question the degree to which there will be transition costs as we move to a simpler, fairer, more growth-oriented system of taxation. Any discussion of these issues, however, should be conducted using legitimate numbers, and with appropriate weight given to both costs and benefits. The claims for preserving the home mortgage interest deduction have not met this test.

FIGURE TWO
Housing values are not related to the value of the mortgage deduction



Source: *Economic Report of the President*, 1996; Tax Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On your newsstand now, the Spring 1996 issue of

THE Public Interest

For a yearlong series on the "Culture Wars," The Public Interest has invited a distinguished group of authors to reflect upon the state of the university, modern art, psychiatry, religion, and other topics. The series begins in our Spring issue with:

The Culture Wars

All Quiet on the (Post)Western Front
Clifford Orwin
&
Monuments in an Age Without Heroes
Nathan Glazer

Also in this issue:

George F. Will on Conservatism's Contradictions

William Galston & David Wasserman on State-Sponsored Gambling

The Drug Legalization Debate

... AND MUCH MORE

Special Bonus: Subscribe to *The Public Interest* for one year (four issues) and receive a fifth issue free. Call 202/785-8555 for information or to enter a subscription.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Enterprising

Competition and the Postal Service

by J. Gregory Sidak

The general rule in the American economy is that attempted monopolization is a crime. When it comes to delivering letters, though, it is attempted competition that is the crime. The Private Express Statutes, which are part of the U.S. Criminal Code, protect the Postal Service from competition in the delivery of letter mail. The Postal Service also enjoys a statutory monopoly over mailbox access. It is a criminal offense to place in any customer's letterbox mailable material upon which no postage has been paid. Yet few, if any, rules protect private companies from the Postal Service's uses of its mail monopoly to subsidize its participation in existing markets like parcel post and express mail, or emerging markets like electronic transmission of business reply mail.

In addition to its statutory immunities, the Postal Service enjoys other privileges that make it unique among American economic enterprises. It pays no income taxes. It pays no return on invested capital to its owners. It is not subject to the full enforcement powers of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). It is not burdened by antitrust law. It is exempt from the normal requirements of corporate governance imposed on private enterprises. It can have its leases and commercial contracts interpreted under federal law rather than state law. It has the priority of the U.S. government with respect to the payment of debts from bankrupt estates. It may borrow directly from the U.S. Treasury, or issue debt to third parties backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government. And if it suspects a customer is sending mail in contravention of its monopoly, it may engage in its own police searches and seizures.

The shelter from competition and other special advantages have yielded a bloated enterprise. By any measure, the Postal Service is immense. Its profile in 1994 figures:

- 852,045 total employees
- nearly 40,000 retail offices
- 207,000 vehicles
- annual sales of $49.4 billion

If ranked among the *Fortune* 500, the Postal Service would appear ahead of such corporations as DuPont, Texaco, and Citicorp. The Postal Service is bigger than the three largest airlines (American, United, and Delta) *combined.* It is larger than the five biggest package and freight companies combined. Indeed, as the Postal Service itself notes in its 1994 annual report, each of the Postal Service's seven product lines would qualify as a *Fortune* 500 company on its own.

Straying far from its original mission, the Postal Service now seeks to participate more freely in competitive markets. This should raise concern in Congress. Technological and economic developments have diminished the importance of traditional postal functions, so the Postal Service is expanding into competition with the private sector in an unprecedented manner. This large and privileged public enterprise is seeking to divert business from efficient private firms like Airborne Express, DHL, Federal Express, and United Parcel Service, and is contemplating moves to preempt many new businesses in fields like overnight delivery of merchandise ordered on-line, electronic transmission of business reply mail, e-mail services, and Internet access.

Postmaster general Marvin Runyon argues his enterprise could out-deliver any competitor and become a profit center for the federal government given greater latitude by the Postal Rate Commission. Considering that the Postal Service has lost money in 17 of the past 23 years despite its statutory mandate to break even, this claim can be viewed with some skepticism. The proposal has real risks, however.

The postmaster general and the General Accounting Office have suggested that the Postal Service receive greater flexibility to compete against private firms, even while it retains its statutory monopoly over letter mail. Rather than improving efficiency and financial results by subjecting this government-owned enterprise to the rigors of

Where would the U.S. Postal Service fit in the Fortune 500?

RANK	COMPANY	1994 REVENUE
#10	Philip Morris	$53.8 billion
#11	Chrysler	$52.2
	U.S. Postal Service	$49.4
#12	State Farm Group	$38.9
#13	Prudential	$37.9
#14	DuPont	$35.0
#15	K-mart	$34.3
#35	United Parcel Service	$19.6
#136	Federal Express	$ 8.5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS HAVE DIMINISHED THE IMPORTANCE OF TRADITIONAL POSTAL FUNCTIONS, SO THE POSTAL SERVICE IS EXPANDING INTO COMPETITION WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN AN UNPRECEDENTED MANNER.

competition over all classes of mail, this recommendation by the postmaster and GAO would simply increase incentives and opportunities for the Postal Service to interfere with ongoing commercial concerns. Congress should recognize that any action to preserve the Postal Service's protected monopoly while simultaneously reducing the ability of private delivery companies to recover their investments would represent a government taking of private property.

The expansion of a government-owned monopoly is inconsistent with the philosophy that governs American society. The presumption in a market economy is that private enterprises should provide goods and services, because competition between private companies yields cost-efficiencies and innovation. Legally protected government monopolies, on the other hand, are characterized by cost inefficiency, bureaucracy, and obsolete technology. Government provision of a good or service is typically justified only when a private market fails to serve for some reason. There is no such market failure in the area of information delivery.

Quite the contrary, it is the Postal Service that has failed to fulfill its functions. Several incidents demonstrate the Postal Service's pattern of failure to deliver mail in a consistently timely and secure fashion. Large caches of undelivered mail have repeatedly been found abandoned, burning, stashed in the homes or cars of postmen, hidden in tractor trailer trucks, or simply piled in warehouses. In July 1994, a surprise audit of three D.C.-area postal facilities uncovered more than three million pieces of undelivered mail, most of it stashed in parked Postal Service trailers, some pieces dating to February 1994. A Price Waterhouse study that same month revealed that only 61 percent of Washington, D.C.'s first class mail was being delivered on time.

In October of 1994 postal inspectors arrested a Washington, D.C., postman for stockpiling four truckloads of undelivered mail in his apartment. Workers had to don surgical masks and robes to remove the mail because the efficiency apartment was overrun by a dog, 15 birds, and 43 turtles, and the mail had become saturated by excrement and the putrescent carcasses of more birds and turtles. Less than 1 percent of the 22,800 pieces of stolen mail was deliverable or salvageable.

Such are the foibles of service at a government-owned monopoly. Failures like those described above (these representing just a few months' worth of incidents), would drive a private firm participating in a competitive market out of business, or at least badly damage it to the point where stockholders demanded new management. The American people should not tolerate such service, nor would they have to were competitive alternatives available.

If competitive alternatives to the Postal Service were available, citizens and businesses could save not only time and aggravation but also money. As captive customers, the American people directly subsidize the relatively high wages of Postal Service employees. Postal Service workers earn a wage premium of approximately 20 percent over the earnings of workers performing comparable tasks in the private sector—without producing a better quality of service.

To rectify current ills in the postal system and avoid future overreaching by the Postal Service into new industries, Congress should remove all special privileges and barriers to competition. The most expedient course would be to privatize the Postal Service. Many of our problems could be fixed, however, by enacting the following somewhat less ambitious course that could be called "commercialization":

- Repeal the Private Express Statutes, and the criminal statute (18 U.S.C. 1725) which gives the Postal Service monopoly access to customers' mailboxes.
- Subject the service to all laws generally applicable to private firms and make clear that it shall have no special privileges or immunities arising from its public ownership.
- Explicitly subject the service to the antitrust laws and the competitive oversight of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division and the Federal Trade Commission.
- Require that it pay taxes, dividends, and a return on invested capital.
- End its ability to borrow from the Treasury and have its debt backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.
- Relieve the Postal Service of its unique obligation to provide universal service throughout the country at a uniform price.
- Establish instead an explicit subsidy scheme to fund postal service for poor and rural areas.

No attempt to make the Postal Service function more like a private firm will succeed unless it eliminates the privileges and burdens that currently distinguish the service from private companies.

J. Gregory Sidak is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. He and Daniel F. Spulber have recently published a book on this subject, Protecting Competition from the Postal Monopoly, *The AEI Press, 1995.*

The Federal Government's Growth Industry

While civilian employment in the rest of the Federal government was shrinking by 267,000 jobs from 1992 to 1995, the U.S. Postal Service added 53,500 new positions. This despite the fact that, as postmaster general Marvin Runyon conceded in late 1995, "we're losing market share in five of our six businesses." The Postal Service workforce now exceeds Defense Department staffing for the first time, 854,000 to 807,000.

—The Editors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—*Cicero*

The Scary Populist

As Pat Buchanan has discovered, nothing sets the alarms ringing like a fiery populist presidential candidate.

"Demagogue" and "fascist" are the milder epithets a populist can expect. The real person gets swallowed by the bogeyman caricature, and what he actually said or did has no place in the myth. As the case of George Wallace demonstrates, not even a near-assassination can salvage his reputation.

Though George Corley Wallace was born in the Alabama town of Clio—the name of the Greek Muse of history—history has not treated him kindly. His young manhood was the stuff of beer commercials: Wallace was a Golden Gloves bantamweight boxer and dump truck driver who married a Kresge's cosmetics clerk named Lurleen.

After winning the governor's office, Wallace ran for president four times as a raw voice of working-class outrage at Washington, the New Class, and the two parties—between which "there isn't a dime's worth of difference." He loved to rail against "pointy-headed professors who can't even park their bicycle straight." The incompetence of the credentialed knew no limits in Wallace's world: "Any truck driver'd know right off what to do at the scene of an accident, but you take a college professor: he'd just stand around lookin' and gettin' sick."

Wallace did not hold seminars on "reinventing government." "I'd like to...smash one of these federal judges in the head and then burn the courthouse down," he once drawled. "But I'm too genteel. What we need in this country is some governors that used to work up here at Birmingham in the steel mills with about a tenth-grade education."

If Wallace—a veteran of a World War II bomber crew that flew the *Little Yutz*—was a fascist, he was an exceedingly odd one. He was a critic of FBI wiretaps. Despite his bellicose image, he was far more dovish on Vietnam than either Nixon or Humphrey.

To his everlasting discredit, Wallace hollered "nigger" when a better man would have called for blacks and whites to join in a biracial populist front. But he was never a hater. In the 1950s he served as a trustee of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, and by 1967 he was insisting that "the real problem isn't race. The real problem is these intellectual liberals who take power and oppress people."

The Wallace rhetoric—unlike the scripted utterances of his Scranton-to-Muskie contemporaries—resounds today. He denounced foreign aid as money "poured down a rat hole." He spoke for William Graham Sumner's "forgotten man": "People on one end are looked after and people on the other end are looked after, but these in the middle have been looking after everybody." He complained that "management gets too mucha the profits, not the workin' man." (Imagine the brawls within the Wallace Cabinet over that one: the governor wanted Milton Friedman as his Treasury Secretary and George Meany as his Secretary of Labor.)

Wallace's more provocative proposals had nothing to do with race. He called for tax incentives to encourage the decentralization of industry (a favorite cause of Eleanor Roosevelt), so that factory workers could be "rural and own their own homes. I don't think God meant people to be all jammed up in cities. No courtesy, no time, no room—that's all you get in cities."

He wanted to remove the exemption from tax-exempt social engineering factories such as the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations, because "they're the ones who devise all these programs you have to pay for." And who was "you"? "Policemen, firemen, barbers, cab drivers, white-collar folk, blue-collar folk."

Wallace's language could be strikingly libertarian. Asked to describe the "biggest domestic issue for 1968," the creature from the Alabama lagoon answered: "our fine American people, living their own lives, buying their own homes, educating their children, running their own farms, working the way they like to work, and not having the bureaucrats and intellectual morons trying to manage everything for them. It's a matter of trusting the people to make their own decisions."

Mozelle "Bitsy" Wallace, George's mother, told a reporter years before Arthur Bremer's bullets ended her son's career at a Maryland shopping center: "Of course, somebody's gonna get George sooner or later. I've accepted that. He's gonna get it."

He got it.

—*Bill Kauffman*

Archive Photos

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An American Original*

USA TODAY® —a magazine of extraordinary diversity!

No other magazine provides such extensive editorial coverage. An open forum of opinion and commentary supplies the vital information you require about the country in which you live and work. Each issue spans 18 to 20 departments with a wide spectrum of in-depth, provocative articles: National Affairs, Economics, Life in America, USA Looks at the World, Business & Finance, American Thought, Education, Medicine & Health, Law & Justice, Science & Technology, Mass Media, Ecology, Psychology, Religion, USA Tomorrow, USA Yesterday, Your Life (vital trends and developments affecting American lifestyles), and What's New? (a compendium of unique and useful concepts and events). Eight insightful columnists express their no-holds-barred comments.

Throughout the year, USA TODAY presents exclusive articles by many of America's leaders, as well as penetrating analyses by nationally recognized experts in their fields. Among the prominent authors appearing in the magazine are Senators Orrin Hatch and John Kerry; Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich; consumer advocate Ralph Nader; John Cardinal O'Connor; syndicated columnist Robert Novak; Nobel Prize-winning economist Robert Solow; movie critic Michael Medved; Cabinet members Robert Reich, Janet Reno, and Jack Kemp; media giant Ted Turner; and Pennsylvania State University football coach Joe Paterno.

USA TODAY is not only for reading; it's a magazine for viewing. Museum Today showcases the work of the world's greatest artists in stunning color presentations of the most important exhibitions in the nation's galleries. Focus on America zooms in on picture essays by many of the U.S.'s most noted photographers, depicting our country's past and present in all its vivid richness. Periodically, Americans Abroad reports on globe-spanning travel experiences with breathtaking full-color photography. Objects of exquisite beauty are spotlighted in Elegance in America, while Collectibles examines unusual and valuable items crafted by gifted artisans.

In addition, readers receive special bimonthly newsletter editions, each with more than three dozen informative reports. ***Newsview*** (published three times a year) spans a wide range of topics affecting Americans' lifestyles; ***Your Health*** (twice a year) presents newsbreaking developments in medicine and health care that can help you live longer and better; ***The World of Science*** (annually) explores our fascinating universe and previews technological breakthroughs that will lead us into the 21st century.

USA TODAY and its special newsletter editions constitute a subscription package of four publications—all for the price of one.

We are the other* USA TODAY*—the original. As the inventor of the name* USA TODAY*, we preceded the newspaper by three years and never have been associated with it.

"USA Today contains more genuine good writing about serious subjects in each issue than some of its competitors manage to include in an entire year's effort."
—P. Crawford, Long Island, N.Y.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER: Save more than $4 by subscribing now

USA TODAY, Dept. AE, 99 W. Hawthorne Avenue, Valley Stream, NY 11580
Enclosed is my check or money order for $19.95 (saving $4.05) for a one-year subscription.

NAME *(please print)*: _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

THE PROGRAM QUEEN

By Florence King

It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us
By Hillary Rodham Clinton, Simon & Schuster, 319 pages, $20

Be still, my spinster heart. As one who yells "Kill! Kill!" at the slightest resistance from a child-proof cap, I did not expect to find anything in Hillary Rodham Clinton's book to make me spring to the defense of children, but I was wrong. I underestimated her capacity for bat-blind stupidity, and now I must pay the price in tarnished reputation.

The blot on my escutcheon appeared during the chapter on empathy, when she recommends "asking a six-year-old to imagine how it would feel to be a homeless person." Behold the Wicked Klutz of the West Wing, so devoid of imagination herself that she has no idea how easily a child, whose mind is nothing but imagination, can go numb with terror at the thought of being thrust out into the night.

She exhibits the same anything-for-my-agenda tunnel vision when she cites an example of an "extraordinarily giving teenager," 13-year-old Brianne Schwantes, Miss Empathy of the 1993 midwestern floods.

Brianne suffers from brittle bone disease, which means that her bones have broken so easily and so often that her growth has been stunted. Yet when she heard about the flooding, she persuaded her parents to bring her to Iowa to help fill sandbags. There she was, barely four feet tall, fulfilling her *obligations* to her fellow citizens.

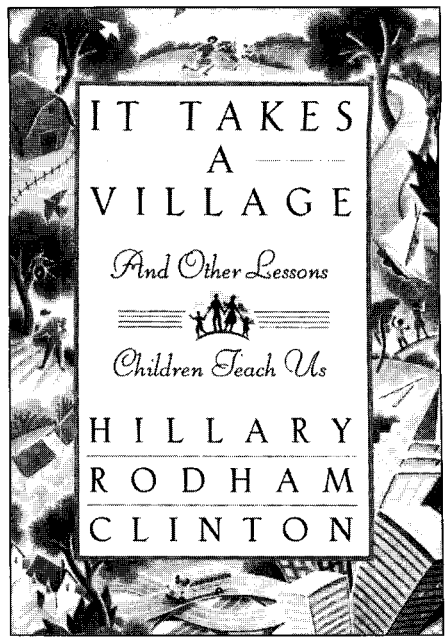
Was there a loud *crack!* that went unnoticed amid all those collapsing levees? Where is this kid now, and more important, how many pieces is she in?

But I'm getting ahead of my story. *It Takes a Village* takes its title from an old African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child," a perfect metaphor for Hillary's congenital urge to meddle. The subtitle, *And Other Lessons Children Teach Us,* is a warm 'n' fuzzy way of saying that she is the teacher here, and the lessons are her grand design for putting two bureaucrats in every cradle.

It's a squat little book with big print and a cover design of American scenes done in colors that manage to suggest kente cloth. The photo on the back goes even further. There sits WASPy Hillary like the Great White Goddess, surrounded by ten children. Only two are white; the rest represent various sorts of half-pint diversity. Eight of the ten are girls, but there are no white males; the two boys who made the cut appear to be Hispanic or Middle Eastern. No Tom Sawyers for this Aunt Polly.

The purpose of the book is twofold: hijack the family-values issue for the Democrats and refashion her image to one of True Womanhood. A tall order, especially the second, requiring her to open high and quickly establish a tone of obsession. This she does so thoroughly that if she were a man we'd worry about candy and raincoats. "From the time I was a child myself, I loved being around children," she writes, going on to describe her babysitting jobs, her job supervising children in a park, her church work tending children of migrant farmworkers, her college job tutoring children, and the extra year she added to her law school course to study child development. Surely enough to satisfy her craving, you say? Evidently not. "I wondered about children I passed on the streets," she confesses.

Each chapter has an epigraph that falls



cosily within the range of those erstwhile copying exercises known as "Today's Thought." If there had been time, she no doubt would have embroidered them on the page: "Snowflakes are one of nature's most fragile things, but just look what they can do when they stick together." "We learn the rope of life by untying its knots."

There are so many references to God that were she an employee of the school systems she wants to infiltrate she would be fired for violating the First Amendment. "A little child shall lead them" is, needless to say, her favorite. She also noodges us with multicultural interpretations of the Good Book, e.g., "The Good Samaritan parable is an example of compassion toward people who are of different backgrounds." It works on your ain folk, too.

Sometimes her mask slips, exposing those steely peepers and that Rock-of-Behistun jaw we know so well, but she even couches her unmistakable lust for revenge in scriptural terms.

> It is not always easy to live what we believe, however. For example, while I believe there is no greater gift that God has given any of us than to be loved and to love, I find it difficult to love people who clearly don't love me. I wrestle nearly every day with the biblical admonition to forgive and love my enemies.

The book's theme is simple: It takes a village to do everything. Leaning on "programs" the way poets lean on sunsets, she drags us through an acronym-studded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nightmare of volunteerism in which everybody tutors everybody else in a wonky festival of exchanging, sponsoring, mentoring, providing, accessing, and partnershipping that never stops until all lie dead, killed by kindness.

Her technique consists of tossing out an acronym such as EEXCEL (Educational Excellence for Children with Environmental Limitations), quoting the doofus who dreamed it up ("A nation is the sum of all its homes"), and then singing its praises with earnest seal barks about affirming, wellspringing, interacting, guiding, sustaining, dialoguing, workshoping, mediating, facilitating, groundbreaking, and commongrounding.

In Hillary's world, children invent acronyms, too. She received a White House visit from a little boy named Mike who was afflicted with short bowel syndrome that was not covered by his parents' insurance. As she commiserated with the family, Mike's brother piped up and told her that "he thought every kid should get the health care he needs, and he had come up with an acronym for the cause—MIKE—Medical Insurance for Kids Everywhere." We must provide it, she warns, else "the village will continue to burn, house by house."

She especially likes Hawaii because it pioneers all sorts of things, such as Healthy Start, whose minions stalk low-income maternity wards, screening babies and new mothers and "noting problems." Note that. If the minions decide that someone is "at risk," they "follow up" with home visits. And follow up, and follow up, and follow up, until the husband runs away and joins the French Foreign Legion, making his wife eligible for still more programs administered by the Minion Who Came to Dinner.

She wants to play child-raising tips on the radio "between programs, songs, and talk-show diatribes." A suggested message: "So you've got a new baby in the house? Don't let her cry herself red in the face. Just think how you'd feel if you were hungry and wet." (Empathize, Rush, empathize.)

Turning off the radio won't do any good because she also wants child-care videos to "run continuously in doctors' offices, clinics, hospitals, motor vehicle offices, or any place where people gather and have to wait." This has to be the finest example of unconscious self-revelation ever penned: the woman is socially insane. No wonder she turned military officers into waiters—she's a gauche, blundering palooka.

Next to progressive Hawaii, her favorite places are foreign countries with subsidized, state-run day care. The French "*écoles maternelles*," which she would probably rename Tiny Start, make her toes curl in her combat boots. Her hosannas are reminiscent of bohemian pseudo-intellectuals bewailing backward America in harangues that begin "In Europe they..." Ignoring the fact that France is going broke, she ponders the wonder of it all.

> While I was in France, I had conversations with a number of political leaders, from Socialists to Conservatives. "How," I asked, "can you transcend your political differences and come to an agreement on the issue of government-subsidized child care?" One after another of them looked at me in astonishment. "How can you not invest in children and expect to have a healthy country?" was the reply I heard over and over. [This has to be the loosest translation since "*ma tante's plume*." The French simply don't talk like that.]

She eats Sweden with a spoon thanks to their policy of giving couples a 15-month, job-guaranteed, paid parental leave to share between them. Unfortunately, most husbands don't take it, for the same reasons that most American husbands don't. Yoost you vait, brudder....

> Men are not likely to participate wholly in the care of their children until they are not only accepted as but *expected to become* active caregivers by the culture at large. Gender roles change slowly, and more than legislative change or progressive business policies is required. [My italics.]

For starters she recommends a counseling program, like the one in a poor section of Chile where the boys' night out has been ELIMINATED, or as she puts it, the men were "helped to discover how rewarding time spent with their families could be." If a Latin culture can use gentle persuasion to phase out machismo, she suggests, any country can, but if gentle persuasion fails there's always the Hillary maneuver: "Perhaps the most effective way we can involve men in parenting is simply to do so."

All of her chapters have cute titles that do nothing to soften the insidiousness of what she says in them. The cutest and most insidious is "The Bell Curve Is a Curve Ball," in which she plumps for recognition of "emotional intelligence" as a means of dethroning that inconvenient old I.Q., long the Left's *bête noire*. To this end she sings the praises of the "amygdala"—the brain's seat of primitive emotions—in a kind of companion piece to Al Gore's condemnation of the "neocortex" as the seat of logic in *Earth in the Balance*. Neither of these walking flatuses wants anyone to think.

This is not to say that Hillary's screed is unrelievedly dull. Read between the lines, it's more fun than a barrel. Take, for example, her throwaway line: "The sight of baby carriages left unattended outside stores on the streets of Copenhagen said more to me about the safety of Danish babies than any research study could." Now compare that to her credo: "There is no such thing as other people's children." What do you want to bet that somewhere in the stygian recesses of her amygdala there pulsates a taboo message: *What's the matter with those Danes? Don't they crave children? Why don't they have better kidnapping skills*?

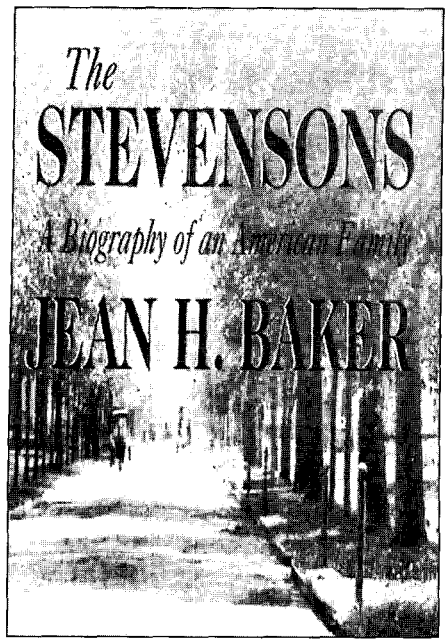
Discussing how to watch TV with your kids, she advises: "When Roseanne and Dan fret over bills because Dan's business is going under, for example, we can explain to our children that sometimes parents need to figure out ways to make sure they can meet all their responsibilities." How would she explain Roseanne's visit to a lesbian bar?

The raging dispute over who wrote this book—Hillary or ghostwriter Barbara Feinman—is an academic point. I maintain that neither of them wrote it. It was written by a computer. You can tell by the macro-key flavor of its literary style: "From basic hygiene habits like frequent hand washing to healthier eating and exercise, prevention works...Brisk walking, hiking, and bicycling are all good exercise and are great ways to spend time together as well."

That's what you call food for the amygdala.

Florence King's latest book is The Florence King Reader *(St. Martin's).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



DEMOCRATIC MANDARIN

By Alan Pell Crawford

The Stevensons: A Biography of an American Family
By Jean H. Baker, W.W. Norton, 576 pages, $30

That Adlai Stevenson II received the presidential nomination of his fellow Democrats not once but twice is remarkable, considering his distaste for campaigning and his doubts about democracy itself. Supercilious, self-absorbed, and oddly charming, Stevenson was the kind of snob who felt his superiority of character confirmed by the voters' rejection of him. Four days after his second drubbing as a presidential candidate, he wrote that he was "profoundly alarmed by the massive ignorance of our people." His persistent appeal reveals a good deal about American liberalism and its ambivalence about the Great Unwashed.

Stevenson described his earliest involvement in Democratic politics as "missionary work among the heathen, a familiar role to my family for several generations." Scots Presbyterians, the Stevensons came to this country in the eighteenth century. Eventually settling in Illinois, they came to national prominence when the courtly but otherwise unremarkable Adlai Stevenson served as Grover Cleveland's vice president.

Adlai Senior's unstable son married the unstable daughter of the hometown newspaper publisher, who was Republican, Unitarian, and rich. Their only son, Adlai II, spent much of his boyhood following his mother through sanitariums. A devotee of the "scientific management" of children and other progressive nostrums, she followed her boy to Choate, Princeton, and Harvard Law, where he flunked out. Eventually winning a law degree from Northwestern, he joined a prestigious Chicago firm. In 1949 he ran for governor and won. While he campaigned on the slogan, "We must put our own house in order," his marriage to a rich debutante who was even madder than his mother fell apart.

By now, Stevenson had become the darling of party liberals, who were captivated by his lofty, literate speeches and his offhand approach to politics. He was sufficiently elusive in his utterances that others could read into them (and project onto him) whatever virtues and values they desired. This his fans did, with a vengeance.

Stevenson proved especially appealing to educated Democrats who disdained machine politics and sought what Baker calls "civic purification." They assumed, on the strength of Stevenson's early opposition to McCarthyism, that he was more liberal than he was. On foreign policy and race he was a veritable Dixiecrat. An ardent anti-Communist, he derided cuts in military spending proposed by Republicans and warned that "if Vietnam falls, all of Indochina is doomed." Stevenson opposed federal anti-lynching legislation and proposals to ban racial discrimination on projects involving federal contracts. He criticized efforts to withhold federal funds for schools that defied orders to desegregate.

What, then, did liberals see in Stevenson? A sensibility, mainly. They responsed to his eloquence, wit, and presentation of himself as somehow wiser and more honorable than other office-seekers. Appearing to hover above the grubby compromises of workaday politics, Stevenson appealed to the snob in liberals who profess faith in the people but disdain democracy.

Baker writes as an admirer disillusioned by Stevenson's failure to live up to the fantasies she—like other liberals—has woven of him. She holds him up disapprovingly to today's standards of liberalism, calling him a "surprisingly harsh Cold Warrior," although the hawkishness that surprises her had no such effect on his contemporaries.

"Always more liberal in temperament than in policy," Baker concludes, Stevenson spoke for a "philosophy that...was losing its coherence." His disdain for his party's "working-class base" presaged the schisms that would lead to "disastrous electoral losses" in the 1980s and '90s. By that time, Stevenson's son Adlai III, who served in the U.S. Senate for 10 years and then ran for governor as the candidate of the Illinois Solidarity Party, had abandoned politics. Today he is back in Chicago—adding to the family fortune as an investment banker.

Alan Pell Crawford, author of Thunder on the Right, *is senior counselor with Martin Public Relations in Richmond, Virginia.*

HARRY TRUMAN, OLD DEMOCRAT

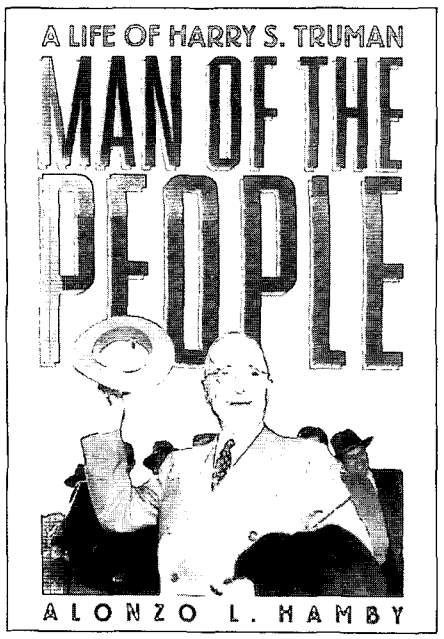
By Gerald J. Russello

Man of the People: A Life of Harry S Truman
By Alonzo L. Hamby, Oxford University Press, 758 pages, $35

Harry S Truman is on a roll. Memoirs, academic studies, and biographies have appeared, the best-known being David McCullough's admiring *Truman* (1992). Both political parties now evoke his memory. Now in this exhaustively researched political biography, Alonzo L. Hamby presents Truman as the "archetypal American democrat." Truman's rise illustrates American society's basic liberty and opportunity, he suggests, even as much contemporary social history searches for oppression in the national story.

Reading Hamby's account of the pre-presidential Truman, it is hard not to admire the subject's spirit and drive, and to think that maybe there is something to the notion of "Middle America" after all. Turn-of-the-century-Missouri, for all its imperfections, possessed an openness and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



vitality very much of the sort celebrated by Tocqueville. By turns farmer, soldier, mine speculator, haberdasher, bureaucrat, and finally professional politician, Harry Truman was well acquainted with financial reversal, but always he picked himself up and recovered. Compared to scion Franklin Delano Roosevelt, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, and prince John F. Kennedy, Harry Truman does stand out as the common-man President. His virtues were many: honesty, loyalty, an intense devotion to his work, and an abiding belief in the farmer and small businessman as the heart of the nation.

Truman had his share of vices, both personal and political. He often retreated to refuges (like the presidential yacht *Williamsburg*) at critical junctures, and then when events overtook him he would resort to recrimination. He had an extremely sharp temper. The irascibility for which he is now famed was to an earlier age a sign of vulgarity and ill-breeding that perhaps made the man unsuited for national leadership.

Politically, Truman supported some questionable initiatives, including FDR's court-packing scheme and, later, his 1952 seizure of the nation's steel industry. These faults are balanced, however, by his steadfast opposition to communism abroad and its supporters at home, which in itself assures Truman a place of honor in the national history.

Truman lacked the charisma of a natural leader, in the fashion of Roosevelt or Wilson, both of whom Truman admired. He inspired loyalty as a captain in World War I, but a series of failed businesses and his caricature as a political toady of the powerful Pendergast machine in Missouri took their toll. An unprepossessing appearance and an uninspired speaking style—in an age that considered political oratory a principal form of entertainment—further hampered his success and led to bouts of depression.

Yet for all that, Truman was an honest and dedicated President who tried to accommodate America's frontier and bourgeois ethics to modern society in the atomic age. Truman and his progressive compatriots did not foresee how their use of government power on behalf of small-town values would, in the postwar years, turn into liberal social engineering for causes foreign to their beliefs. The immoral city and the welfare state soon replaced the farm and self-reliance as bastions of the Democrats. By the end of his presidency, the party Truman led had drifted far from the vision he had penned in 1934 while sitting as a state judge: "Some day we'll awake, have a reformation of the heart, teach our kids honor, and kill a few sex psychologists...shoot all the efficiency experts and become a nation of God's people once again."

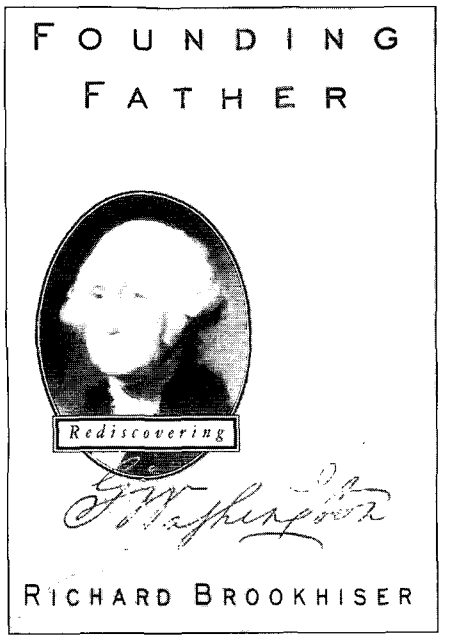
Self-described as "left-of-center," Truman's liberalism was in fact rooted in the experience and traditions of the middle-class Americans among whom he was raised. Could today's renewed interest in Truman grow out a yearning for the traditional American character that still endures in places like Independence, Missouri? Harry Truman's solutions have been overtaken by history. But surely his faith in "the American way of life" has not.

Gerald J. Russello has a degree in classics from Georgetown University.

PROTO-DEMOCRAT

By Martin Morse Wooster

Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington
By Richard Brookhiser, Free Press, 199 pages, $25



To many Americans, George Washington is, at best, a hazy figure. We know he led the fight to free our country from the British and that he was our first President, but most people have no idea *how* Washington won the Revolutionary War or what exactly he did when he was president. The average American, when asked about Washington, will likely know little more than a few anecdotes, some of which are true (he really did wear wooden teeth) and many of which are false (as a child, he never chopped down a cherry tree).

As the most obscure of our important presidents, there are a great many biographical facts about Washington that ought to be better understood. What was Washington like? Did he tell jokes? Did he ever get angry? How did he treat his subordinates?

These questions are addressed by Richard Brookhiser in his latest book, *Founding Father.* Brookhiser, a *National Review* senior editor, is not a predictable conservative; his previous book, *The Way of the WASP*, was a social history of America's white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. These choices of subjects are far more interesting than most younger conservative authors, who are often interested only in contemporary affairs.

Brookhiser's goal in *Founding Father* is to write "a moral biography, in the tradition of Plutarch." Brookhiser observes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Washington has become a distant and forbidding figure who is "in our textbooks and our wallets, not our hearts." We've forgotten the untrue anecdotes that cluttered nineteenth-century textbooks, notes Brookhiser, "but we have replaced them with little that moves or even informs us."

Brookhiser's goal is to try to bring Washington back to life and find out what lessons can be drawn from his example. Occasionally, he sways from his task. In one section, for example, he wades into the fetid waters of psychohistory with the claim that Washington fathered an entire nation because he had no real children of his own. Most of the time, however, Brookhiser shies away from speculation and modern biographical silliness, and readers will find his book a fine introduction to the life and character of our first leader.

There are many admirable traits in Washington's character. As a general, his chief accomplishment was to transform his army from a mob of amateurs into a professional fighting force. Brookhiser observes that Washington lost most of the battles in which he fought, and spent most of his time retreating when not in battle. But the British wanted quick, cheap victories that would cause the foes of independence to rally to the Union Jack, and Washington's genius was to force the British to realize that a costly and protracted fight would be needed to retain America militarily. No other American general of the era would have had the stature or the patience to fight a long defensive war in this way.

Another valuable service Washington did his country was interrupting his periods of public service to return to his farm at Mount Vernon. Washington was a strong believer in limiting terms of political office. After the Revolutionary War, some wanted Washington to be a king. His refusal ensured that Americans would have no truck with monarchy. Washington's decision not to run for a third term started an American tradition that lasted until Franklin Roosevelt, whose rootedness in office resulted in a constitutional amendment limiting presidential terms.

But the principal benefit of Washington's life, Brookhiser demonstrates, was to teach Americans what a virtuous politician is like. In an age of scandal and vulgarity, we forget that politicians were once moral exemplars whom children could admire. Brookhiser's achievement is to transmit Washington's virtues to a future generation.

Washington had insatiable curiosity about life. He spent large sums buying European books (selected by Thomas Jefferson), and subscribed to ten newspapers in an era when that was quite expensive. Like Harry Truman, Washington had little formal education, but he eagerly acquired the knowledge he needed through constant reading. And Washington learned from the Roman Stoics that a public figure should be restrained in his emotions. Unlike today's emotionally bulimic politicians, Washington never felt the urge to tell people that he felt their pain, or that his vices were the fault of his wicked parents.

Founding Father is not a definitive biography, but an introduction to Washington's life and character by an experienced observer of American politics. It's an interesting book that will deepen a reader's knowledge of the progenitor of our nation.

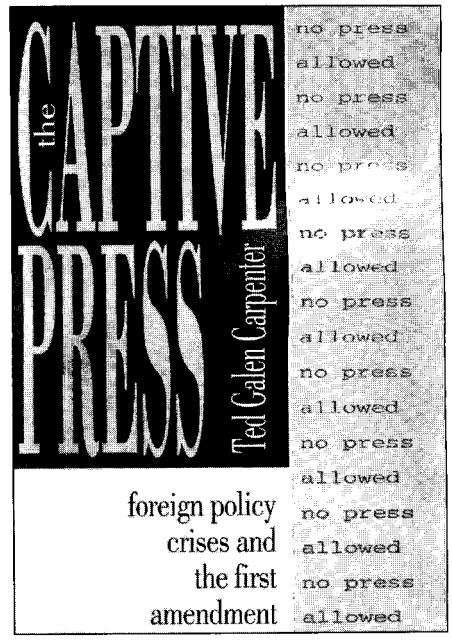
Associate editor Martin Morse Wooster is related to an obscure Revolutionary War general.

WAR STORIES

By Brian Doherty

The Captive Press: Foreign Policy Crises and the First Amendment
By Ted Galen Carpenter, Cato Institute, 315 pages, $14.95

Ted Carpenter's *The Captive Press* is an examination of U.S. government attempts to seduce and subvert the press in the name of national security. For a comprehensive history, the book appears unbalanced at first. The entire saga of the often rocky relationship between press freedoms and U.S. national security up through World War II takes up just one chapter, while Vietnam, Korea, the Gulf War, Somalia, and Yugoslavia consume 200 pages.



Carpenter suggests the government was simply less inclined to bully the press in earlier periods. The one obvious exception is the Civil War. He mentions almost casually the 1862 Union takeover of all telegraph lines. The U.S. government also threatened that any newspaper printing military news of which it disapproved could be barred from using telegraph lines and railroads. That move was more serious than all the twentieth-century efforts to manipulate and manage the press that Carpenter writes about.

One reason post-World War II press restrictions are troubling, Carpenter argues, is because the U.S. has recently tended to enter its wars by executive ukase. Open press discussion of undeclared or barely declared wars is especially important, he believes, since the public was denied the democratic information-sharing and debate that should have preceded entry into battle.

Carpenter says the U.S. government has repeatedly attempted to bottle up information just to protect bureaucratic or policy prerogatives. We weren't fooling the Soviets by denying that Gary Powers' U-2 was a spy plane; only the American people were misled. There were no military justifications for encouraging filmmakers to laud the wonders of Stalin's Soviet Union during World War II; this was just an attempt to manipulate public opinion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During the Vietnam conflict there was concern that freewheeling, anti-American coverage by the press helped lose the war. This led to a backlash, and in subsequent military engagements reporters have been less free to roam battlefields. But Carpenter insists that the press's only sin in Vietnam was accurately reporting details that cast doubt on the official optimism about impending victory. "The objection to press coverage had nothing to do with protecting the security of military operations," he writes. "The worry was that independent media scrutiny of military operations had jeopardized the government's policy objectives."

In recent wars, Carpenter concludes, government has successfully manipulated media coverage. In Grenada, it kept the press out entirely for days; in Panama, it kept reporters away from the fighting and incapable of learning anything that might contradict the official line. Carpenter's book is an addition to the popular literature fomenting mistrust of government, though in a bland voice that lacks the special delights that can sometimes make history sing.

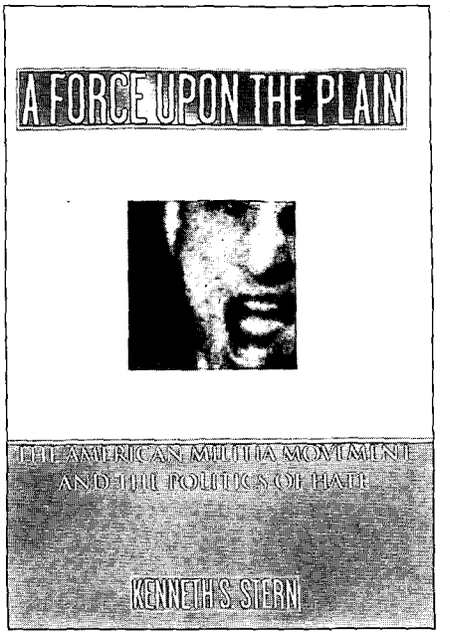
Brian Doherty is assistant editor of Reason.

ANTI-STATISM AS A HATE CRIME

By Jesse Walker

A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate, By Kenneth S. Stern, Simon & Schuster, 303 pages, $24.

What some would call dissent, Kenneth Stern calls madness. "If an individual went into a psychiatrist's office saying he believed in black helicopters, that evil forces were changing the weather to harass him, that foreign troops were coming to take him away to a concentration camp, the doctor would diagnose the patient as clinically paranoid and prescribe treatment." Americans shouldn't ignore these same symptoms in the body politic, he warns. They are contagious, and those infected are armed. Repression, one gathers, would be therapeutic.



Stern is right that America's militias mix some far-out conspiracy theories and legal doctrines with their antistatist agenda. But it is more than mere crankery that upsets him. His book is an attempt to link the militia movement to terrorism and racism.

He opens with a grisly description of the Oklahoma City bombing of April 1995, and devotes subsequent chapters to the lives of Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, the accused bombers. Both, Stern points out, were concerned with many of the same issues as the militias—Waco, gun control—and each attended some militia meetings. Stern does not mention what happened next: They were tossed out for advocating violence. Which makes it a little difficult to make the "terrorism" charge stick. The militias' sin thus amounts to sharing social concerns with the alleged bombers. One might as well blame Al Gore for the Unabomber, or Alan Keyes for murders of abortionists.

The militia movement is acephalous, decentralized, and open to characters of all kinds. So you will find some vile bigots in the movement, preaching prejudice against blacks and Jews. You will also find libertarians, New Leftists, paleoconservatives, and the odd UFO nut. The militias include men and women of all races and religions. Stern himself quotes a black militiaman, James Johnson, though he neglects to mention his race.

Are any militia *leaders* racists? Bo Gritz has espoused anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, and Militia of Montana leader John Trochmann and his family have an unclear past connection with the Aryan Nations. Gritz and the Trochmanns claim to reject such beliefs now. Stern grudgingly admits that racists and anti-Semites constitute only a minority of the movement, but argues that the militias are alarming nonetheless, for whatever that's worth.

One of Stern's worries is that the militia movement is like a funnel. People enter it for many reasons—fed up with regulations, gun restrictions, taxes, whatever. Then as they're sucked in, he asserts, they begin to embrace conspiracy theories and revolutionary rhetoric. At the far end of the funnel are the hardcore bigots. Not all the militiamen are at the funnel's spout, but that's where they're heading.

Decentralist rhetoric is inevitably racist, Stern continues. The rights of states have "always been used to shield local governments from criticism over discriminatory practices." He warns against citizens who identify with the local rather than the larger group, whose allegiances are ordered "so that small comes first, and large last, if at all." He frets that "When a political movement rejects the idea of common basic American values and says, 'Let me do it my own way,' it usually means it wants to do things that are objectionable, and yearns to do them undisturbed and unnoticed."

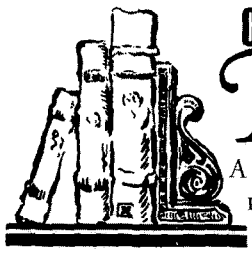
The militias, Stern believes, represent a new form of prejudice, aimed not against ethnic or religious minorities, but at the government. Antistatism is a "new, inward-looking hatred." There you have it: militias are hate groups.

After the holocaust at Waco and the shootings at Ruby Ridge; in a time of civil forfeiture, police brutality, and severe regulation; in the midst of the War on Drugs and the War on Property Rights—in this context, Stern asserts that the state is a victim and political dissidents are oppressors.

And some wonder why the militia movement is growing.

Jesse Walker is assistant editor of Liberty.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



off The Shelf

A REGULAR REVIEW OF CLASSIC, OVERLOOKED, NEWLY RELEVANT OR OTHERWISE DESERVING OLDER BOOKS

VOWS OR VIOLENCE

By Scott Walter

Lancelot
By Walker Percy
Valentine, 1977, 241 pages, $5.99

The Turner Diaries, a 1978 novel by William L. Pierce, is said to be the favorite book of alleged Oklahoma City-bomber Timothy McVeigh. After blowing up FBI headquarters, its hero says, "there is no way we can destroy the System without hurting many thousands of innocent people," but "if we don't destroy the System before it destroys us—if we don't cut this cancer out of our living flesh—our whole race will die." *Lancelot,* a novel by Walker Percy published one year earlier, also has a violent protagonist who blows up his house and his unfaithful wife. The eponymous Lancelot Andrewes Lamar avers, "I will not tolerate this age. Millions agree with me...but no one will act except the crazies.... We shall not wait for it to fester and rot any longer. We will kill it."

Whether or not "millions agree," the image of angry men in violent rebellion against a corrupt world is becoming disturbingly commonplace. Lancelot, for instance, says the men who are with him will live by "a stern code." The Marines on trial for murder in the movie *A Few Good Men* similarly tell their dishonest lawyer that he's a coward but they live by a "code." Think, too, of the hardy Scots peasants in the Oscar-nominated *Braveheart,* who revel in glorious violence against English tyranny, even as their cosseted "betters" shrink from the fight.

George Will watched the Marine Corps train its future officers and remarked, "Speaking of cultural conflicts, what makes the Corps not only useful but fascinating" is its conscious cultivation of "hard people in a soft age." *The Wall Street Journal* went to the Marines' boot camp for enlisted personnel and found a similar story: The Corps somehow turns a few of today's Beavises and Buttheads into disciplined men. But there is one problem. These new-made men now view friends from their old, self-indulgent life—as well as most citizens in our flabby society—with near-contempt.

Lancelot does much to explain this yearning for a place where, as the saying goes, men are men. Its title character is named for both Lancelot du Lac, Knight of the Round Table, and for the Anglican divine Lancelot Andrewes. Born to an old-money Southern family, he has in middle-age crawled into the bottle, neglected his wife and family, and "gone to seed." Then he discovers his wife has been unfaithful. This jolts him out of his rut and sends him off on a quest—not for the Holy Grail, but for an "Unholy Grail," specifically, one pure sin. In a world where God and the good have become domesticated, life easy, and "mistakes" or "mental illness" excuse all wickedness, Lancelot seeks pure malevolence. For if evil exists, then perhaps the good, or even God, exists. And he must know.

The book is set after Lancelot has uncovered his wife's infidelity and taken his revenge. In flashbacks from his cell in an insane asylum, he tells his story to his oldest friend, Percival. Also named for a Knight of the Round Table, Percival grew up with Lancelot. They were in the same fraternity at college, where Percival posed as a melancholy intellectual. Now a priest-psychiatrist, he listens to Lancelot's ravings without replying.

The imprisoned Lancelot yearns for a "new order," one based not on any *-ism* "but simply on that stern rectitude valued by the new breed and marked by the violence which will attend its breach." What Lancelot seeks for the country resembles the achievement of manhood in the human male. As author Leon Podles summarizes the pattern, a boy breaks from his mother's protection, goes off to confront danger and evil, and only then becomes a protector and provider for a wife or, like Simba in *The Lion King,* for a nation too.

This difficult process easily goes awry. Seeking monsters to slay, the man may become a monster himself—as the male/female ratio in prisons around the world attests.

Yet somehow, even disordered men have a masculine intuition of what would slake their yearning, fulfill their quest, soothe their savage breasts. Something, after all, attracts a few Beavises and Buttheads to Parris Island. The trashy *Turner Diaries* novel Timothy McVeigh loves includes priest-like leaders who wear monks' robes. Perhaps Lancelot is on to something when he rants to Percival that the only alternative to this "intolerable" age is either a Spartan, bare-fisted world of *mano a mano,* or a Christianity that has not been softened into "I'm OK, You're OK."

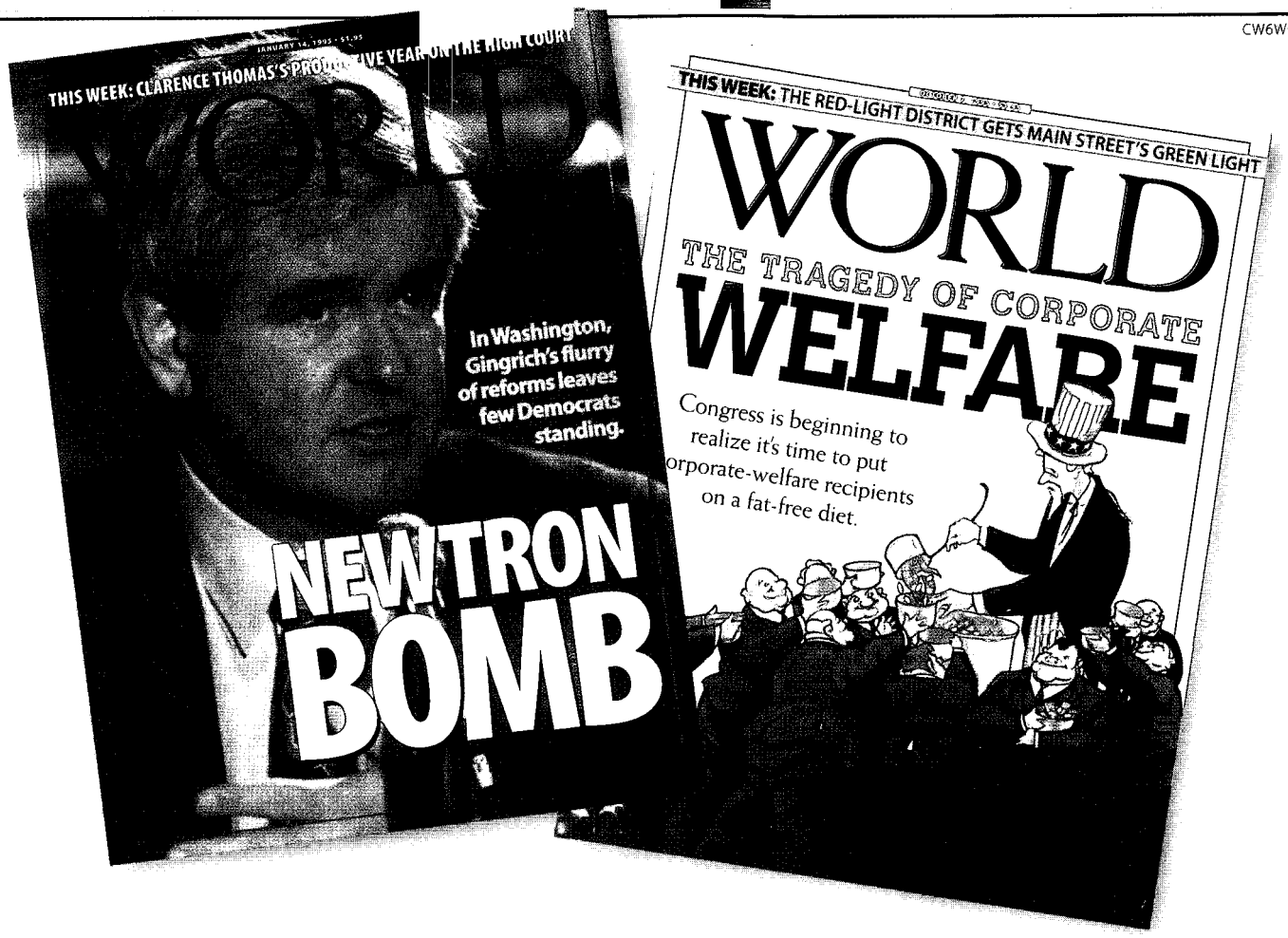
The real dragon Lancelot longs to slay may be what he calls "too many possibilities"—freedom become a curse. Crudely put, the modern world insists that anyone can be anything he or she wants, and can undo anything he or she has done. How, then, can we know what we are? Or what anyone else is? Such unmoored souls easily turn to despairing self-indulgence or violent madness. G.K. Chesterton suggested that only one thing can answer our desire to combine freedom with fixity: a vow. In olden days knights freely swore vows to their lord. Today "there is one place where we can still find this sentiment," Chesterton writes, "the marriage vows at any ordinary wedding in any ordinary church."

That quotation appears in an essay condemning divorce. Chesterton and his fellow Catholic Walker Percy would agree that if one fears the marauding of Timothy McVeighs and Lancelot Lamars, one had best encourage more young men to take up honorable vows as husbands, priests, Marines, and other good knights.

Scott Walter is senior editor of The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CW6WC500



4 FREE ISSUES

of WORLD *magazine*

When you call **1-800-372-9500** and ask for four free weeks of WORLD, you will be getting Christian, conservative news coverage from a source you can trust.

"WORLD is my favorite magazine. *Period.* Read WORLD. It will open your eyes."
—William Bennett

"Let me tell you why I read WORLD every week. There is in this world a nexus where religion and the real world meet, and that's right where WORLD magazine is. And it covers that like nobody else."
—Fred Barnes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITED BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

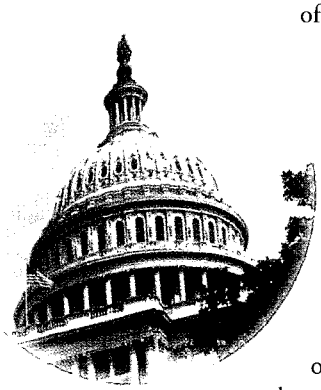
the Digest

SUMMARIES OF IMPORTANT NEW RESEARCH FROM THE NATION'S UNIVERSITIES, THINK TANKS, AND INVESTIGATIVE PUBLICATIONS

POLITICS

The Past and Future of Term Limits

W. Robert Reed and D. Eric Schansberg, "The House Under Term Limits," in Social Science Quarterly *(December 1995), University of Texas Press, P. O. Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78713.*



The notion of term limits is older than the United States. The Articles of Confederation limited legislators to three terms. While the Constitution imposes no similar limits, during the first half of the nineteenth century, 40 to 50 percent of the members of the House of Representatives quit after each term. Abraham Lincoln, for example, decided not to run for a second term after being elected to the House in 1846.

As the term-limit movement revives, it is unclear how the reform will change Congress. Reed from the University of Oklahoma and Schansberg from the University of Indiana (Southeast) predict that the House will be dramatically altered if term limits are imposed.

Based on the rate of turnover in the House between 1973 and 1994, Reed and Schansberg predict that under a six-term (12-year) limit, the average representative would serve 6.1 years, while a three-term (six-year) limit would reduce the average Congressional tenure to 3.8 years—returning congressional terms to 1875 levels. Under a three-term limit, about 37 percent of House members would not seek re-election—an increase of 20 percent from current levels.

One problem with a three-term limit, they contend, is how the limit will be imposed. If term limits apply to all members of Congress beginning six years after a particular election, then the authors foresee a "superclass" of incoming freshmen elected every six years after the term limit mandate begins. Preventing "superclasses," they argue, "is a serious problem, and one that needs to be addressed by advocates of term limits."

ECONOMICS

Strangling the Golden Goose

Pietro S. Nivola, "Having it All? Domestic Regulations and the Global Economy," in The Brookings Review *(Winter 1996), 1775 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.*

While many people look for foreign scapegoats wherever an American industry proves internationally uncompetitive, Brookings senior fellow Pietro Nivola argues that U.S. government regulations bear much of the blame. He notes that the costs of implementing one federal law—the Clean Air Act of 1990—exceed "the estimated value of U.S. exports blocked by all of Japan's known import restrictions."

Against the backdrop of the well-known welfare state excesses of Europe and Japan, it is often overlooked that in some important areas the economies of our major trade competitors are freer than that of the United States. Only America has a legal system where litigants can win huge sums for allegedly defective products. The costs of litigation ensure that American employers pay five to 10 times as much for medical malpractice and product liability insurance as their European and Japanese counterparts. Nor does any other advanced economy have a law similar to the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1991, which rewards workers who win job-discrimination lawsuits with a year's back pay, punitive damages, and reinstatement in their old jobs. Nivola agrees with Berkeley scholar Robert A. Kagan that the fear of lawsuits causes contracts between American employers and workers to "resemble arms control treaties by mutually suspicious nations."

Unlike their American counterparts, European or Japanese regulators don't demonize companies they regulate. "A distinctive feature of the American regulatory regime," Nivola argues, "is its querulous and punitive style," with bureaucrats condemning employers as rapacious, racist, sexist, greedy, and irresponsible. Because U.S. regulators tend to see their subjects as foes to be punished, and because decisions by bureaucrats are likely to wind up in court, the regulatory process in America is far more combative and protracted than in Europe or Japan.

All this regulation significantly damages the U.S. economy, Nivola contends. Harvard researchers Dale W. Jorgenson and Peter J. Wilcoxsen calculate that environmental regulations alone reduce the U.S. GNP by 2.6 percent annually. The American legal system's organized harassment of economic producers adds another large reduction in national output.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ultimately, American politicians will have to make a choice. Will Washington deregulate to survive global competition, Nivola asks, or will it continue the growth-retarding policy of "liberally regulating and suing"?

Get Government Out of Social Insurance

George L. Priest, "Rethinking the New Deal: The Role of Government as an Insurer." Bradley Lecture, delivered February 12, 1996, at the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20036.

Since the New Deal, the federal government has sought to protect Americans from cradle to grave. Programs such as Social Security, Medicare, bank deposit insurance, and farm loan insurance claim to insulate citizens from misfortune the same way private insurance programs would. These programs make up a huge part of the federal budget, yet George L. Priest of the Yale Law School argues that government "insurance" programs not only fail to reduce risk, they may even increase dangerous risk-taking.

Private insurance programs reduce the risks they cover in two ways. First, insurers charge higher premiums for dangerous behavior, less for safe behavior. Second, insurers reduce the likelihood that a client will undertake a risky activity by requiring co-payments and deductibles. Requiring that a person with medical insurance pay 20 percent of a hospital bill, for example, encourages that person to leave the hospital as soon as he is able.

Government, by contrast, "must be inclusive in the coverage it offers," and can't charge different prices based on an insuree's potential risk. Thus low-risk clients subsidize higher-risk ones. Savings and loans with responsible lending practices, for instance, were forced to pay for the $147 billion bailout of S & Ls that engaged in dubious enterprises. Nor do government insurance programs usually require co-payments or other deductibles that lower both insurance costs and risk-taking.

Because government insurance programs spread rather than reduce risk, Priest argues, they systematically redistribute wealth "toward relatively risky activities." Unemployment insurance encourages people to stay on the dole longer. Government flood insurance makes it more likely that houses will be built on flood plains. Even relatively arcane government insurance programs increase risk: when the federal government began insuring turnip-green growers against losses, it found that 45 percent of the claims came from counties that had not reported any turnip-green growers before the insurance program began.

If government is to be shrunk, Priest argues, citizens should realize that public insurance programs do more harm than good. State-run insurance, he concludes, "redistributes the wealth of the country through subsidization from productive and wealth-enhancing activities to risky and unproductive activities."

Selling Suits

Peter Charles Choharis, "Creating a Market for Tort Claims," in Regulation *(Number 4, 1995), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington D.C., 20001.*

America's legal system needs dramatic reformation. But current reform efforts—such as requiring the loser of a suit to pay the winner's legal fees or limiting the damages a plaintiff can win—will still leave a system in which lawsuits take years to settle and winners receive little after legal fees are subtracted from the award. Peter Choharis suggests instead that a market for lawsuit claims be established.

Since the Middle Ages, it's been illegal for a defendant to sell his rights in a lawsuit. Most states prohibit "maintenance," in which one person pays for another's suit, and "champerty," where a stranger pays for a plaintiff's suit in return for part of the proceeds if the plaintiff wins. Over the centuries, these prohibitions have steadily eroded. Today it's legal for people to donate money to public-interest law firms to conduct suits. Insurance companies can also pay plaintiffs before a lawsuit begins, and then act as if they "owned" part or all of a lawsuit.

If the ancient prohibitions against a lawsuit market were removed, investors could buy suits from plaintiffs in return for paying the plaintiffs some or all of what they would win in a trial. Plaintiffs could thus be assured of receiving payments quickly, and without a large slice of the award being consumed by lawyers' contingency fees, Choharis argues. Defendants could also settle suits in the market—avoiding years of litigation. If the defendants bought lawsuits anonymously, they could avoid today's ubiquitous "copycat" lawsuits from imitators.

Because investors in the lawsuit market would likely have more access to financing than most law firms, they could pay plaintiffs almost as much as they might hope to win in court. The investors would likely have more money than most law firms to spend on high-tech assistance like expert witnesses and database searches, which would mean the plaintiffs' side could win more often.

Numerous questions need to be answered before a tort market can be created, Choharis admits. Would victims have to answer questions from all potential lawsuit buyers? What information would victims have to give to lawsuit purchasers once a trial begins? If an investor buys a suit based on inaccurate information, can he then sue the victim?

In establishing a market for torts, Choharis contends, reformers should ensure that it aims not just to create profits but to ensure that justice is done efficiently and fairly. A market for lawsuits, he believes, would "enhance personal freedom and foster greater fairness" in the courtroom.

SOCIETY

For Richer, For Poorer

Nicholas Eberstadt, "Prosperous Paupers and Affluent Savages," in Society *(January/February 1996), Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903.*

The American welfare state is now over 60 years old, but poverty seems as pervasive as ever. To see why poverty persists, it's important to examine U.S. social and economic trends, says AEI's Eberstadt.

If a New Deal planner were transported to 1996, he'd find an America that, by 1930s standards, is fantastically wealthy. Measured in constant dollars, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. economy was 6.5 times larger in 1993 than in 1935, while the average American in 1993 earned three times as much as his 1935 counterpart. And even during the 1992 recession, unemployment only reached a quarter of 1934 levels.

Mechanization in agriculture has meant "a virtual end in the United States to the age-old burdens of field labor." The percentage of U.S. workers who work in agriculture has fallen from 21 percent in 1930 to under 3 percent by 1993. Less than 1 percent of the U.S. labor force works as farm hands.

In 1992, federal, state, and local governments spent $290 billion on the poor. Equivalent to $22,000 a year for a family of four, this aid means that the average family on welfare today would be in the richest quarter of U.S. consumers in 1929.

Despite our increase in wealth, Eberstadt observes, the poverty rate has not declined for a generation now. In part, this is due to faulty government measurements of who is poor. The poverty rate is based on the income that Americans report to the Census Bureau, but measurements of consumption by the Bureau of Labor Statistics reveal a different story: Americans in the poorest 20 percent of incomes said they earned only $6,000 before taxes in 1991, but reported they consumed $13,500 in goods and services.

Bad measurements of poverty, however, do not fully explain its continued existence, Eberstadt says. For "the richer and the more educated our nation has become, the weaker our family units have become." Therein lies the root of the problem the welfare state has not conquered: "we have learned, to our sorrow, that the state is a limited and highly imperfect father for the family."

Fighting Poverty with Tax Credits

Marvin Olasky, "The Right Way to Replace Welfare," in Policy Review *(March/April 1996), Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.*

For decades, welfare in the U.S. has depended on a massive "safety net" largely subsidized by the federal government. But Olasky, editor of *World*, believes that the safety net should be left to states and nonprofit organizations. "What America needs," he argues, "is not a safety net but a vast variety of small trampolines...providing a level of bounce fitted to the skill level and psychology of the individuals they are trying to save."

Olasky proposes that by 2001 most federal welfare programs be transferred to the states, resulting in an average taxpayer saving $3,000 on his federal tax bill. States would then raise taxes by amounts equivalent to $2,500 per person. Meanwhile, every taxpayer who donated $3,000 in time or money to poverty-fighting nonprofits would gain an exemption worth $2,500 off his state taxes. By making this personal investment of $500 to obtain the exemption, Olasky argues, donors will be more involved in how their money is used than if no such investment were required.

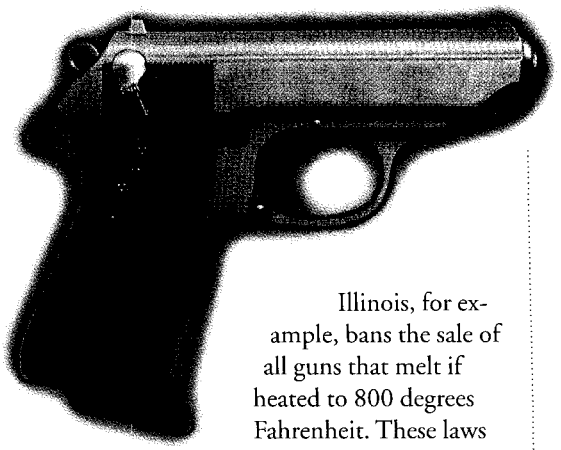
Offering a tax exemption for private contributions to non-profits would largely insulate charities from the secular, bureaucratic control that direct funding by government would bring. And while some of the donated money might flow to dubious organizations, such misspent money will be far less than the amount of welfare dollars currently wasted.

Increased competition among thousands of small relief organizations seeking private donations will do more to uplift the poor than subsidies from monolithic federal agencies. And while some private groups might fail, the innovative ideas many others provide will help the poor more than the stagnation and dependency fostered by today's welfare system.

Disarming the Poor

T. Markus Funk, "Gun Control and Economic Discrimination: The Melting-Point Case-in-Point," in the Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology *(Winter 1995), Northwestern University School of Law, Office of Legal Publications, 357 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611.*

One way gun-controllers try to restrict weapons is through passage of "melting-point laws," which ban the sale of guns that melt below a given temperature.



Illinois, for example, bans the sale of all guns that melt if heated to 800 degrees Fahrenheit. These laws have severely restricted the sale of cheap "Saturday night specials," but Funk, a clerk to a district court judge, believes melting-point laws "discriminate against the poor who cannot afford to purchase more expensive handguns."

Funk cites and then rebuts three arguments gun-controllers use to support melting-point laws:

1. *Sportsmen don't use cheap guns.* Actually, the primary use of handguns isn't for hunting, but for self-defense. Criminologist Gary Kleck estimates that Americans use handguns 1–2.5 million times each year for self-defense.

2. *Cheap guns are harder to trace in crimes.* In fact, all the nicks, cuts, and scratches found in inexpensive weapons make a low-cost weapon easier, not harder to trace. Criminals are unlikely to remove serial numbers from weapons.

3. *Melting-point laws make it harder for criminals to get guns.* But most criminals don't buy their weapons in stores; they either steal guns or buy them on the black market. Researchers at the Department of Justice and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms estimate that 93 percent of the handguns used to commit crimes were obtained illegally.

Funk sees melting-point laws as the latest in a series of gun-control laws designed to discriminate against poor people and blacks. Poor African Americans are the most likely victims of crime, Funk argues, and they are the ones who most need to be protected by low-cost weapons. "Inexpensive handguns," he concludes, "provide affordable protection to lower-income individuals who are the most frequent victims of crime."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reforming our Immigration Bureaucracy

Daniel W. Sutherland, Abolish the INS: How Federal Bureaucracy Dooms Immigration Reform, *Center for Equal Opportunity, 815 Fifteenth Street N.W. #928, Washington, D.C. 20005.*

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been one of the major winners in the federal budget battles: The Clinton administration has boosted the INS budget by 71 percent, and Congress may increase it further. Yet many observers charge that the INS is inefficient and bureaucratic. For example, there are several million illegal immigrants in America, but the INS only deports about 40,000 each year.

Sutherland from the Center for Equal Opportunity argues that the INS is inefficient because it performs two conflicting functions: providing services to legal immigrants and enforcing America's immigration laws against illegals. The service the INS provides its "customers" needs drastic improvement: The INS receives $685 million annually in visa fees, but immigrants who deal with the agency must frequently face unanswered phones, impenetrable forms, and snarling clerks. Moreover, many top officers of the INS on the service-providing side rose through the enforcement ranks, and thus tend to treat law-abiding immigrants as if they were criminals.

The INS enforcement side suffers from competition with other federal agencies. Every major port of entry features Customs Service agents and INS agents, and the General Accounting Office charges that "Customs and INS have a long history of interagency rivalry." In Laredo, Texas, for example, Customs and INS agents once competed for drug-sniffing dogs. The INS also overlaps with State Department consular officials in ruling on petitions to immigrate, with State Department officials routinely vetoing INS decisions.

The INS, Sutherland concludes, should be split into two agencies: One would combine the INS service side with the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs plus the Department of Labor's immigrant functions. The INS's enforcement functions would be absorbed into the Customs Service. This reform would eliminate thousands of redundant jobs and could "be a catalyst for producing a comprehensive strategy to control illegal immigration."

We welcome submissions of reports, articles, or papers you think should be summarized in THE DIGEST. Please send to P.O. Box 8093, Silver Spring, MD 20907.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Business Mis-Stake

"Stakeholder Capitalism," in The Economist *(February 10, 1996), 25 St. James Street, London SW1A 1HG, England.*

Some liberals believe that American and British firms should adopt "stakeholder capitalism." As practiced in Germany and Japan, it involves lifetime employment and worker participation in management decisions—through mandatory participation on corporate boards. Long-term relationships with workers and suppliers supposedly allow "stakeholder" firms to practice business more humanely.

But according to *The Economist,* "stakeholder" enterprises are now under "unprecedented strain," and both German and Japanese firms have been shedding workers. Daimler-Benz, which lost 6 billion marks in 1995, has shed 70,000 jobs. Deutsche Telekom, the state-owned telephone company, plans to cut 60,000 workers prior to privatization. NTT, the Japanese telephone company, announced in November that it was planning to get rid of a quarter of its workforce.

For workers who survive, continued employment is becoming increasingly uncertain. Japanese firms that claim to practice lifetime employment are shifting unproductive managers to remote branch offices or to menial jobs. Some Japanese firms have put pressure on subcontractors to cut prices, and the latter have responded by releasing two million workers between 1989 and 1994. Faced with high labor costs, Japanese firms have decided to shift production overseas. A 1994 newspaper poll reports that 59 percent of Japanese business executives surveyed say they plan to increase overseas production. By 1998, 40 percent of the production of Japan's five largest electronics firms will be offshore.

These moves away from stakeholder capitalism by German and Japanese firms "should give pause for thought to Anglo-American advocates" of this corporate style, *The Economist* argues. "It would be deliciously, if sadly, ironic were Britain and America to shift towards a model just as it was about to be abandoned by its inventors."

Privatize the Third World

Bureaucrats in Business: The Economics and Politics of Government Ownership, *World Bank/Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.*

Despite some well-publicized sales, far too many businesses in the developing world remain state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Third World governments still own casinos, salt mines, watch factories, cooking oil bottlers, film distributors, glue factories, furniture builders, and more. While the percentage of the gross domestic product held by the state fell from 9 percent in 1980 to below 7 percent by 1994 in the developed countries, in the less advanced world state enterprises account for 11 percent of output—a percentage the World Bank considers unacceptably high.

The primary reason countries should privatize businesses they own, the World Bank argues, is to increase economic growth. If central governments spent the funds they use to prop up SOEs on education, the education budget of Tanzania would rise by 74 percent, that of Tunisia by 160 percent, and India's by 550 percent. If SOE subsidies were spent on health care, Turkey's health-care spending would triple, Tunisia's would quadruple, and India's would quintuple.

Privatization also helps the environment, since many state-owned factories are old pollution-belchers that would be closed were they owned by private industry. In Turkey, Turkiye Taskorumu Kurmu, a state-owned coal mining firm, lost $6.4 billion between 1986 and 1990, and by 1992 was losing a sum equivalent to $12,000 per employee. Working at this firm was so hazardous that its employees died at an average age of 46, or11 years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

younger than the national average. "The miners and the government," the World Bank notes, "would have been better off if the government had imported coal and paid the miners to stay home."

Chile provides a good example of successful and unsuccessful privatization. When General Augusto Pinochet came to power in 1973, he swiftly began deregulation and privatization, including selling most of the nation's banks. But the conglomerates who bought the banks used the banks to give themselves generous low-interest loans, which they then used to buy more SOEs. When Chile entered a depression in 1982, these conglomerates borrowed still more money from their banking subsidiaries, causing the banks financial trouble. The Chilean government renationalized 50 firms, including banks which held over 60 percent of the nation's deposits. When Chile launched its second privatization effort in 1984-85, it sold the firms through "popular capitalism," where every Chilean was able to buy stock in the businesses being sold. Insider lending was also prohibited.

Chile's experience shows that privatization is not foolproof. But limiting government economic control needs to be emphasized, the World Bank suggests, if nations are to grow economically.

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Making Waste Pay

Nicholas Gertler and John R. Ehrenfeld, "A Down-to-Earth Approach to Clean Production," in Technology Review *(February/March 1996), Building W59, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139.*

Gertler, a Harvard Law School student, and Ehrenfeld, director of the Program on Technology, Business, and Environment at MIT, suggest that businesses should recognize that waste disposal can be profitable. Devising ways to sell effluents, they say, "offers a way to reduce the historically antagonistic tradeoff between economic activity and environmental health."

Consider the businesses in Kalundborg, Denmark, where the coal-fired 1,500 megawatt Asnæs Power Station generates excess steam that's used to heat most of Kalundborg's 5,000 buildings, as well as the nearby Statoil refinery and the Novo Nordisk pharmaceutical plant. The power station also sells calcium sulfate captured from its air-pollution scrubbers to the wallboard-maker Gyproc. Statoil sells surplus natural gas generated in refining to both Gyproc and the Asnaes Power Station. The Novo Nordisk factory then takes sludge produced as a byproduct of penicillin and insulin manufacture, treats it with genetically engineered microorganisms, and gives away the nutrient-rich result to nearby farmers who use the "NovoSlam" waste as fertilizer.

The symbiosis between Kalundborg's factories, Gertler and Ehrenfeld say, was not the result of centralized planning, but rather of participants negotiating "each link independently with the intensity and savvy of any other business deal." Danish environmental regulators helped, however, by working with the businesses to come up with flexible solutions for dealing with waste.

U.S. environmental regulations make this sort of industrial symbiosis more difficult. Regulators enforcing the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) have produced "the most complex body of environmental regulations ever written" in order to define the difference between "waste" and "resources." Companies are discouraged from coming up with innovative ways to sell effluents for fear that federal regulators will declare the plan illegal. In addition, many plant managers aren't familiar with what other companies in the area produce.

Gertler and Ehrenfeld urge U.S. environmental regulators to allow more exemptions to RCRA for companies that creatively recycle waste into useful products. More enlightenment among bureaucrats, they contend, "would go a long way toward encouraging the kind of byproduct reuse" now commonplace in Denmark.

Saving the Rhinoceros

Michael t'Sas-Rolfes, Rhinos: Conservation, Economics, and Trade-Offs, *Institute of Economic Affairs, 2 Lord North Street, London SW1P 3LB, England.*

The rhinoceros is among the most endangered species in the world. At most, there are only 9,000 black and white rhinos left in Africa, and fewer than 3,000 left in Asia. Though conservation measures are strict, the world rhino population continues to fall, so Institute of Economic Affairs fellow t'Sas-Rolfes calls for a new way to support the rhino: letting the marketplace do it.

Rhinoceroses are endangered because their horns are quite valuable. In Yemen and Saudi Arabia, horns are used as handles for the ornamental *janbiyya* dagger. In the Far East, rhino horns are ground into powder and used as an ingredient in traditional Chinese medicine. TRAFFIC, an organization that monitors endangered-species trade, reports that in 1991, African rhino horns sold in Taipei for over $3,000 per kilogram, while horns of the Asian rhino, supposedly more potent, were sold for over $60,000 a kilogram.

Though trade in rhinoceros horns has been banned for over 20 years, t'Sas-Rolfes reports that this ban has been ineffective because of African poverty. In Zambia, for example, the per capita income is $290, but poachers receive $172 per kilogram for rhino horns. In addition, strict currency controls provide an incentive for rhino horn smuggling, since the valuable horns are a form of hard currency and so are "very useful for smuggling value across borders in much the same way as diamonds."

t'Sas-Rolfes proposes that the rhino population be protected by gradually transfering it to the private sector. Some rhinoceros could be owned by conservation organizations, who could charge tourists to see rhinos living in the wild. Other rhinos could live in ranches, with carefully controlled hunting of older rhinos that are past breeding age. (A few such ranches currently exist in South Africa.) Other ranches could harvest rhino horns to relieve the pressure for poached contraband. While an elephant will die if its tusk is extracted, a rhino can grow several horns during his lifetime. t'Sas-Rolfes also calls for a limited sell-off of existing rhino horn stocks to undercut the black market.

Unless rhinos are connected to some sort of property rights regimen, t'Sas-Rolfes argues, the rhino will eventually survive only in zoos. "The outlook for rhinos is a pessimistic one," he writes, "because idealists currently outnumber pragmatists in conservation decision-making."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

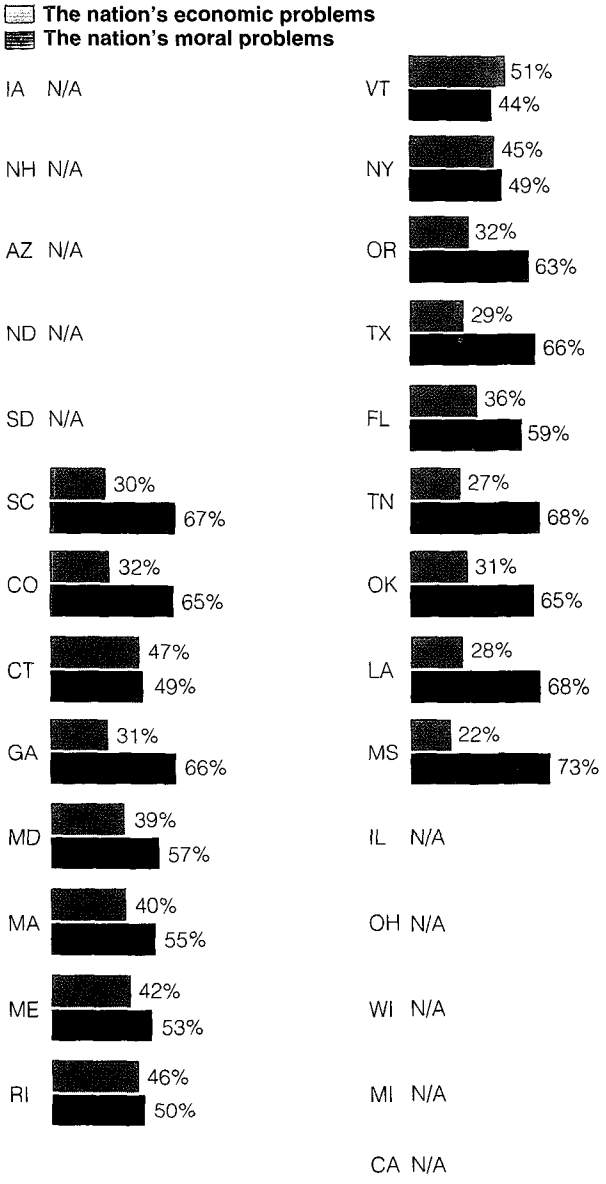
Opinion Pulse

EDITED BY KARLYN BOWMAN

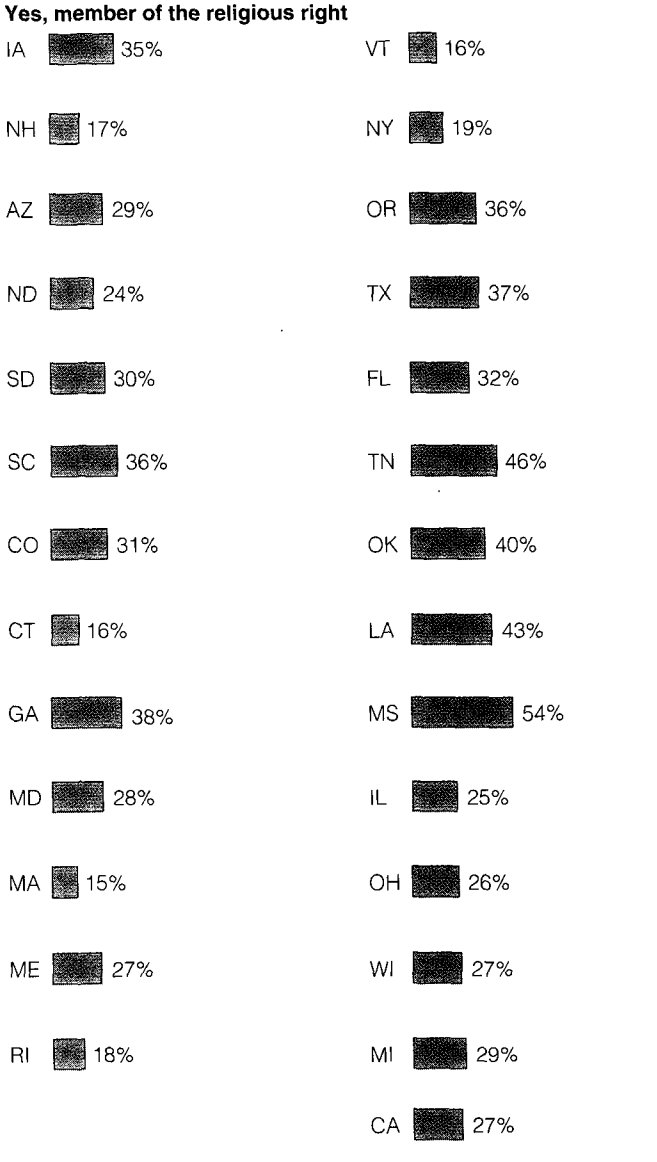
WHAT VOTERS IN GOP PRIMARIES AND CAUCUSES SAID

From February 6 through March 26, Republican primaries or caucuses were held in 31 different states. Early vote tabulations suggest that in states with comparable primaries, turnout was slightly higher than in 1988 and 1992. Still, fewer than 10 percent of all eligible voters took part. We look here at the results of some of the questions.

Question: **Which concerns you more...**



Question: **Do you consider yourself part of the conservative Christian political movement, also known as the religious right?**



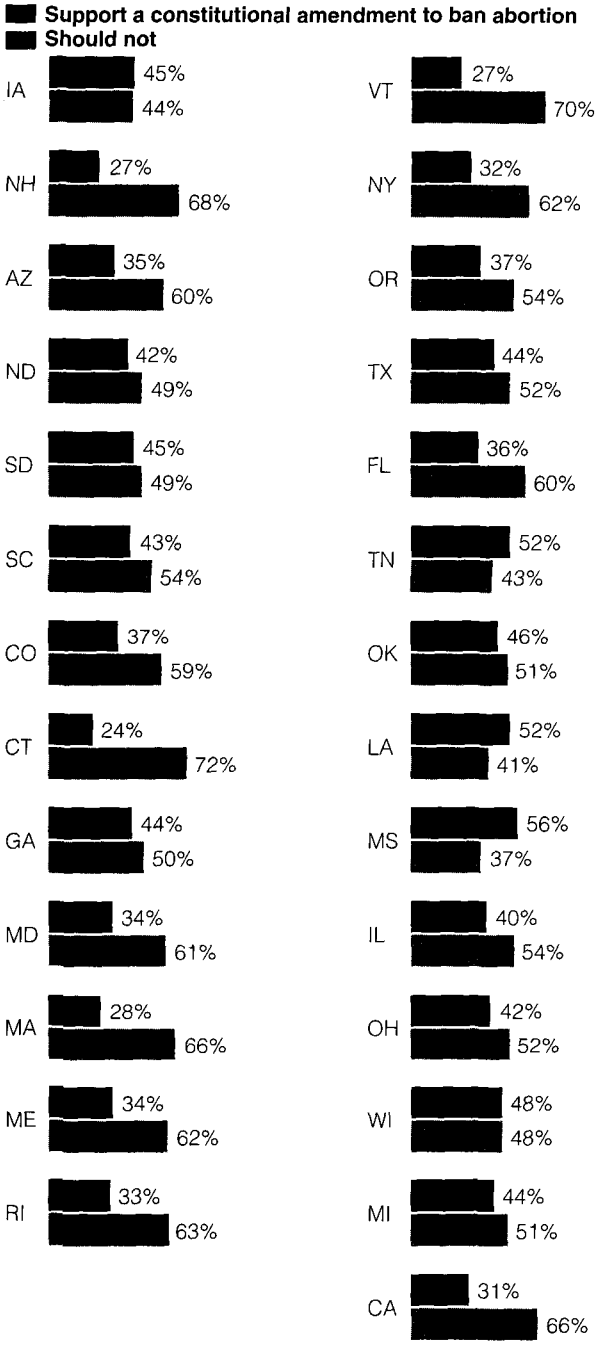
Note: N/A indicates that the question was not asked or not available.
Source: Surveys by Voter News Service, the exit poll consortium of CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and AP.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

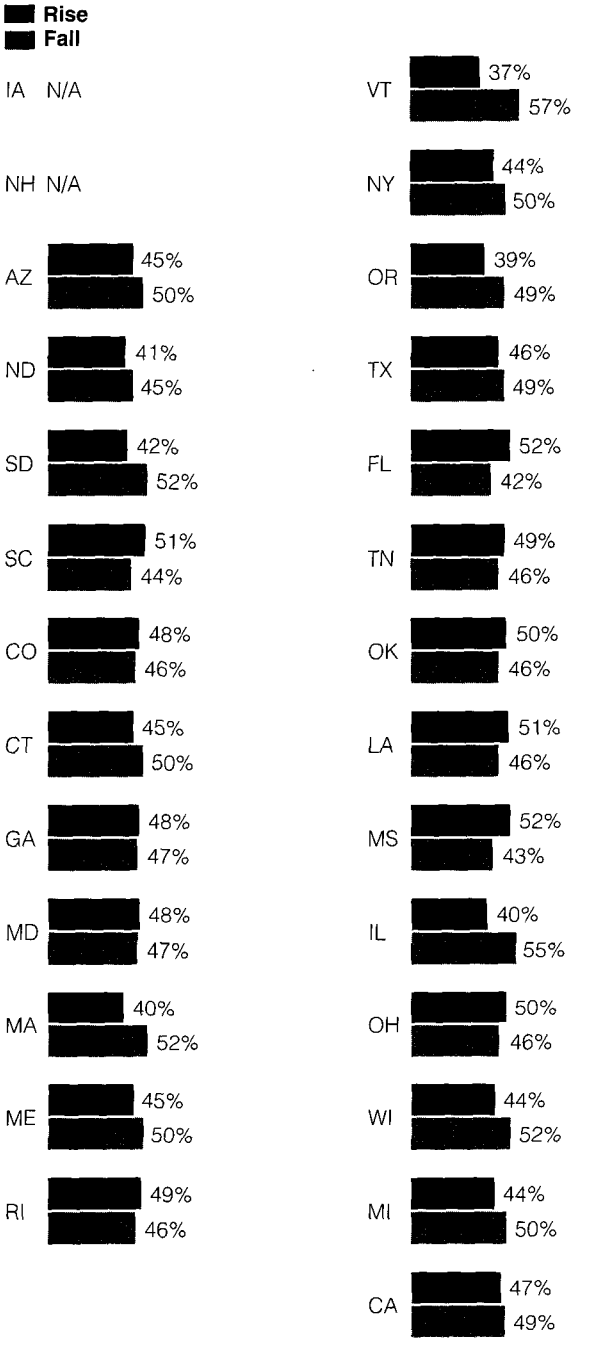
Abortion / Living Standards

In only three states did a majority of voters favor a Republican party platform plank that would support an amendment to ban abortion. Voters were split about the economic prospects for the average American over the next 10 years. Was this reflecting or fueling the line of argument about economic anxiety advanced by Pat Buchanan and others?

Question: **Should the Republican platform...**



Question: **Over the next 10 years, do you think the average American's standard of living will...**



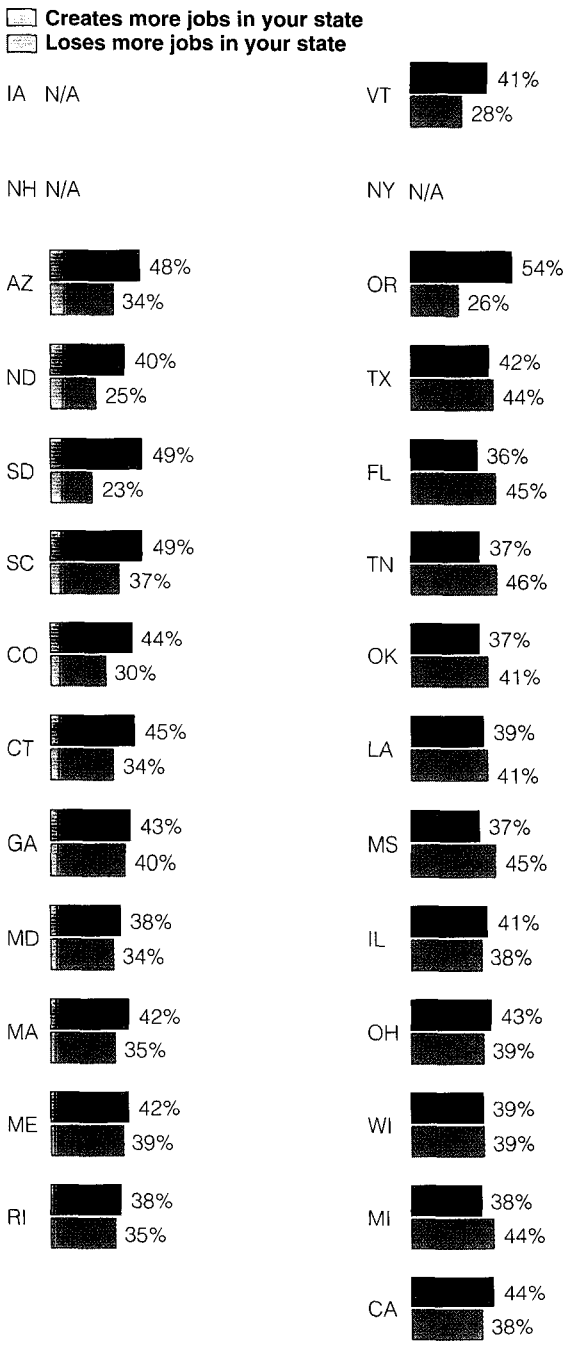
Source: Surveys by Voter News Service, the exit poll consortium of CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and AP.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

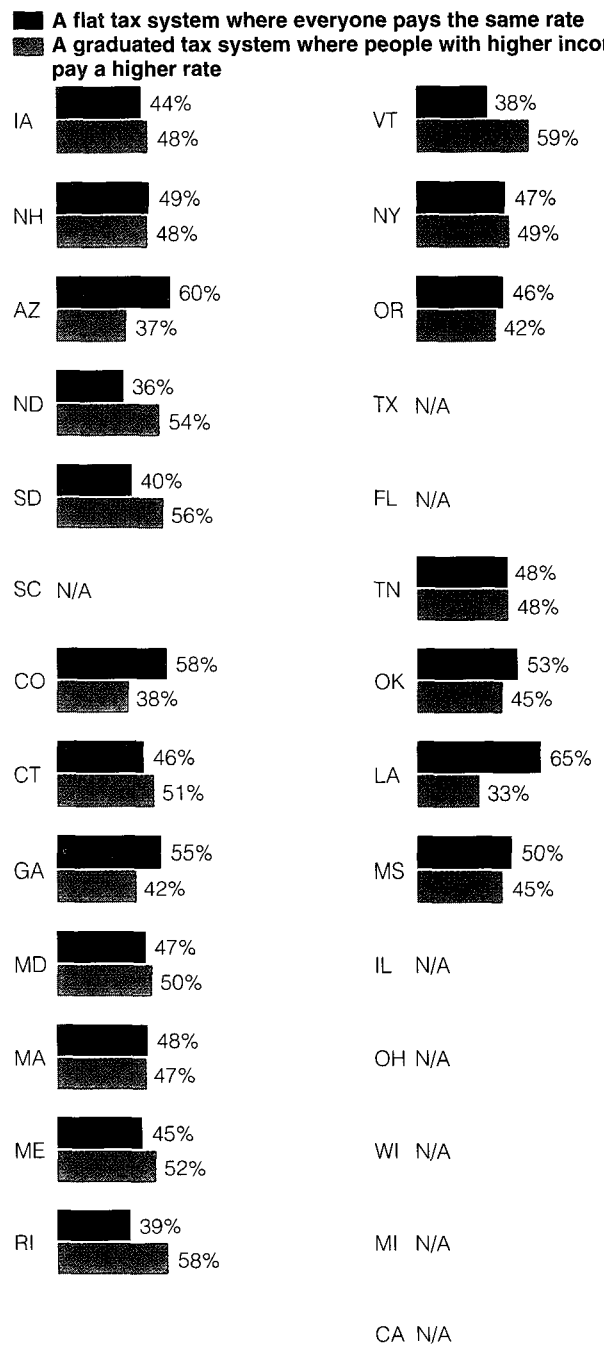
Trade / Flat Tax

Pat Buchanan received much attention throughout the primaries for his tough talk about trade. Before the California primary, he asserted that the Republican party does not have "a real future if it continues down the road of internationalism...of trade deals." But voters in the GOP primaries and caucuses split on whether trade creates more jobs than it loses. Dole supporters were generally more positive, Buchanan supporters more negative. The central issue in Steve Forbes's bid for the nomination, the flat tax, found considerable support among voters.

Question: **Overall would you say U.S. trade with other countries...**



Question: **In general, which do you prefer...**



Source: Surveys by Voter News Service, the exit poll consortium of CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN, and AP.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

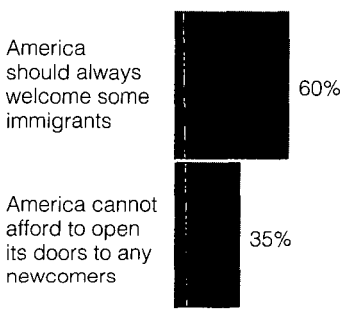
Immigration / NAFTA

Voters in most states were asked by the exit pollsters to pick the issue that mattered most to them in selecting their candidate. In some states immigration was one of the categories voters could select. In these places, voters did not rank immigration in the top spot, suggesting the issue may not have the intensity some claim. A 60 percent majority in a new national poll said the country should always welcome some immigrants; 35 percent said we can't afford any newcomers. A majority favor stopping immigration for five years, but 45 percent oppose this. Americans continue to believe immigrants take jobs most Americans don't want to take. Although Americans have mixed views about trade, they aren't looking back. Only a third think we should withdraw from NAFTA.

In nearly every state that held a Republican primary or caucus, voters were asked: Which one issue matters most in your support for a candidate today? The highest percentage mentioning immigration was 16 percent in California. Voters in some states were asked which came closer to their view: The U.S. should always welcome some immigrants *or* the U.S. can't afford any new immigrants. In Texas 53 percent said the United States should always welcome some, 44 percent said we can't afford any new immigrants. The percentages for Florida were 54/43; for Tennessee 50/47; for Oklahoma 50/47; for Mississippi 40/54; for California 51/42.

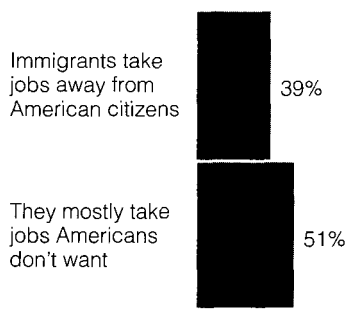
National Results

Question: **Which comes closer to your opinion...?**

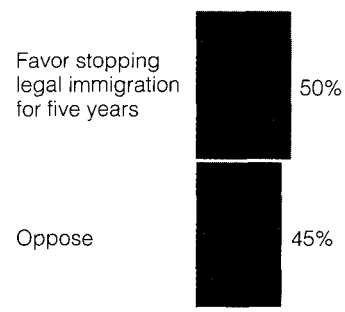


Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, February 22–24, 1996.

Question: **Do you think...?**



Question: **Do you...?**

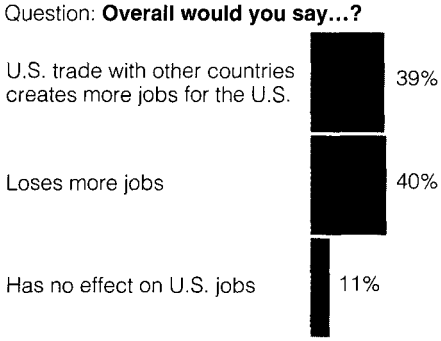


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, March 6–7, 1996.

The highest percentage of voters in a Republican primary or caucus this year mentioning foreign trade as the issue that mattered most to them was 7 percent. Still, as the data on page 93 show, voters were divided about whether trade creates or loses more jobs in their particular states. The data below show overall public reactions.

National results

Question: **Overall would you say...?**



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, February 22–24, 1996.

Question: **Do you...?**

Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time* and CNN, March 6–7, 1996.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail

Contrary to Dave Geisler's review of our movie *Nixon* (SCAN, March/April), Richard Nixon was in Dallas the morning of November 22, as well as the day before. This is documented in Nixon's own memoirs. Nixon met with a group of Texas oilmen and others in Dallas, and "Jack Jones" is a composite character based on those Texas businessmen. Nixon's likely role as Vice President in approving the assassination plots against Castro has been discussed and documented by such respected historians as Arthur Schlesinger, Michael Beschloss, John Newman, and Fawn Brodie. Rather than denouncing the study guide to *Nixon*, Geisler should take a look at it himself. He might learn something.

Oliver Stone, Filmmaker
Eric Hamburg, Co-Producer, Nixon

Frederick Turner should consider the limited facilities of the personal computer ("Wanted: Cyber-Editors," March/April). The Net cannot present documents of more than two screens for convenient reading. It can distribute longer documents for later printing, though, restoring the time scale needed for their understanding

There is a natural division of labor between the screen and the printed page. Turner accepts too much of the premise of computer industry promoters that on-line communication will dominate knowledge and expression. Take computer scientists. They use the Net intensively, yet the field's journals, conference papers, and book series have not been transformed.

Edward Tenner
Woodrow Wilson Center

I enjoyed Frederick Turner's essay about the Internet. His idea that darkness and impediments contribute to light and communication has wide implications. Rabbi Daniel Lapin notes that darkness was specifically included in God's conclusion that His creation was "good." Turner deftly reminded me that impediments can make a positive contribution to the results they obstruct.

David Altschuler
Venice, California

Don Feder is correct that talk radio spoils the liberals' notion that we "masses" agree with them ("Why Liberals Hate Talk Radio," March/April). I've been self-employed for 18 months. Talk radio saved my sanity while I was having doors slammed in my face, and now it's preserving my sanity in the lonely years of building a business.

Elizabeth Whitaker
Bethune, South Carolina

As the token liberal talk show host on KOA Radio in Denver, I must admit your writers are right that the domination of conservatives on radio—hosts and callers alike—does "unsettle the Left." But David Brudnoy says conservatives' popularity is due to their "great sense of humor"! Like Oliver North and Michael Reagan? You should choose your words more honestly.

Greg Dobbs
KOA Radio, Denver

As a veteran newsman, I have directly observed the mainstream media degenerate into corrupt, left-wing deceivers of the American people. They would clean up their act if a few daily papers were run by more honest and balanced journalists.

Marco Gilliam
via Internet

I thoroughly enjoyed Joel Kotkin's "L.A. Versus N.Y.C.," (March/April). Both cities are global centers for the entertainment industry, but as Kotkin asserts there are tremendous differences. In Los Angeles County, there are approximately 10,000 entertainment-related firms with an employment base of nearly 130,000 and annual revenues in excess of $47 billion. In a way, each city struggles to keep up with the other as if they are true rivals, but they are not.

Linda Griego
Rebuild Los Angeles

What did Bill Kauffman mean when he said Charles Lindbergh was "slandered" by Wendell Willkie? (FLASHBACK, Jan./Feb.) It's a known fact that Lindbergh was a Nazi sympathizer, an admirer of Hitler, and the recipient of Germany's Iron Cross in the 1930s. What's to slander?

Abe Glazier
Syracuse, New York

Bill Kauffman replies:
To slander Charles Lindbergh as a "Nazi sympathizer" because he opposed U.S. intervention in the Second World War is no different from libeling Martin Luther King, Jr., as a "Communist sympathizer" because he opposed the Vietnam War. For a reliable set of "known facts," read Wayne S. Cole's Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II, *the definitive scholarly work.*

Florence King writes of John Kenneth Galbraith in the only manner availalable to intellectually honest writers: scathingly (AUTHOR, AUTHOR, Jan./Feb.). When she made reference to the plight of students receiving "Galbraith assignments," I checked to see if she mentioned me. The only thing more frightening than Galbraith's lack of irony in writing is the thought that he really means it when he says things like we

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-7178. Or e-mail 75272.1226@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should "secure to each family a minimum income, as a normal function of society." Families should be liberated to fail or succeed on their own terms. Security and liberty are inversely related.

Norris A. Harrington
via CompuServe

In distilling Michael Oakeshott's thought (BOOK TALK, March/April), Nancy Pearcey accuses Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss, and Ludwig von Mises of being infected with "the rationalist disposition." Yet Strauss is the only one of these thinkers even listed in the index of *Rationalism in Politics*, and he is not accused of rationalism by Oakeshott. This is Pearcey's conclusion.

Robert J. Cihak
Aberdeen, Washington

Following are some excerpts from the many letters we received in response to Blake Hurst's article "The Government as a Gambling Partner" in our March/April issue:

States that introduce gambling as a voluntary form of taxation do not move ahead. Gamblers pick their own pockets. Problem gamblers pick your pockets.

JoDean Joy
Citizens Uniting for Gambling Reform

As a Chinese, I compare the evil of gambling in the U.S. to the malevolence of opium smoking in China in the late seventeenth century. As a United Methodist clergyman, I am disturbed to find civil servants acting as partners in vice.

James K. Law
New York, New York

Playing the lottery is not a winning activity for most citizens. They are losers—victimized by their own government.

Otto S. Steele, Jr.
Pella, Iowa

Every community that has been victimized by catering to gambling was promised a rosy scenario, and yet it is the local people who eventually waste away their pay, rent, and welfare checks on the casinos and lotteries. We must regain our sense of right and wrong.

Steve Grasha
Californians Against Gambling Expansion

Gambling has the highest suicide rate of any addictive behavior. The costs to the state and communities in increased law enforcement, bankruptcies, increased theft, domestic violence, child abuse, increased welfare costs, and other social expenses far outweigh any benefits that gambling proponents claim.

David S. Robertson
via CompuServe

Blake Hurst correctly details many of the pitfalls of state-sanctioned "gaming," but he understates the human toll gambling is exacting. Research demonstrates that increased divorce, suicide, and child abuse follow on gambling's heels.

Ronald A. Reno
Focus on the Family

Local communities that expect to strike it rich by attracting casino operations should do some research. Between early 1994 and late 1995, 19 of the 25 casino stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange dropped in value, by an average of 41 percent. The remaining five stocks rose at less than the Dow. Is the market telling America something politicians don't want to hear?

Joseph W. Dalton
Saratoga County (N.Y.) Chamber of Commerce

The gambling industry has attempted to convince most Americans that gambling is about fun and games. Actually it's about greed and compulsion. It's time that our political parties recognized commercial gambling's destructive influence on local economies and communities.

Guy C. Clark
New Mexico Coalition Against Gambling

It is strange that Walter Berns thinks we have "avoided any crisis in selecting a new president" in the past 150 years ("Third Parties & the Presidential Race," Jan./ Feb.). Most students of American history would consider the election of 1876—Tilden/Hayes—a crisis situation. The results were not final until a few days before the inauguration of Hayes.

Henry E. Heatherly
Lafayette, Louisiana

It was a pleasure to read Karl Zinsmeister's BIRD'S EYE essay and his article "When Race Trumps Truth in the Courtroom" (Jan./Feb.). Both further established that the entitlement mentality poisons many blacks. My husband and I despair at the rapid disintegration of our inner cities, and the liberal gobbledy-gook published to excuse and explain it. Please continue to write about these problems. They are the most serious faced by this nation.

Candace R. McIntosh
Scottsville, New York

Karl Zinsmeister focuses on the worst elements among black Americans, revealing a tendency shared by liberals and conservatives to make race the overriding factor for the pathologies some blacks exhibit. This results in a grossly unfair and inaccurate portrait of the black population. White thieves and black thieves steal for the same reasons, yet the term "white crime" is never used. Those of us who are black and conservative must continue to nudge conservatives toward evaluating blacks as individuals, rather than as a race.

Gwen Daye Richardson
Houston, Texas

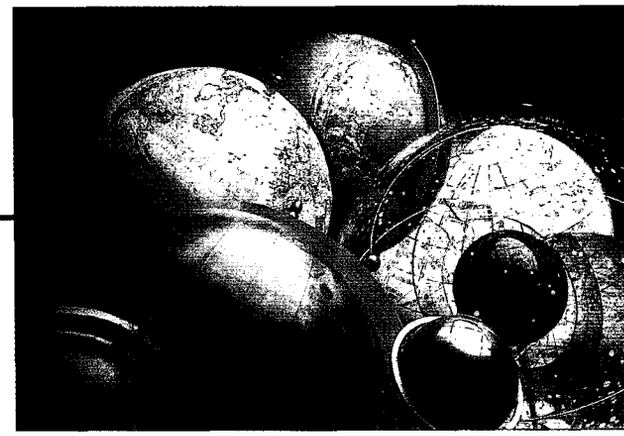
Glenn Loury asks, "Why should the idea of endeavoring to help those trapped in those ghettos, through government programs funded with taxpayer dollars, be so offensive to the conservative mind?" ("What's Wrong with the Right?" Jan./Feb.) Loury's question contains its own answer, if we strike out the two commas. Conservatives have no objection to helping people "trapped in those ghettos through government programs funded with taxpayer dollars"! The problem is how to do this without further trapping them.

Taras Wolansky
Jersey City, New Jersey

Living in a Third World country, one has to subscribe to quite a few First World magazines to jog the mind. Most of them can be read and dispatched during a gin and tonic. Not so with TAE—and this is where my complaint comes in: it takes a large bite out of my day. I might disagree with some of your more overzealous reasoning, but the reading is always compulsory.

Gerd Behrens
Camps Bay, South Africa

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We know this place inside and out.

We've looked at it from miles above.
(Data received from satellites circling the earth
assist Texaco petroleum engineers in locating future fuel supplies.)

We've explored it from miles below.
(A Texaco remote-control pumping platform
on the floor of the North Sea controls an 11-well oil field
with estimated reserves of 80 million barrels.)

And we've studied its surface.
(Feedback from car owners who use CleanSystem^3 gasoline
along with input from Texaco research facilities all play a vital part
in developing products for tomorrow.)

As you can see, at Texaco, we're committed
to finding new sources of energy.
(Wherever on earth they may be.)

Official Sponsor of the 1996 Olympic Games.

Visit our Web site: http://www.texaco.com

TEXACO

TAKE IT TO THE STAR™

©1996 Texaco Inc.

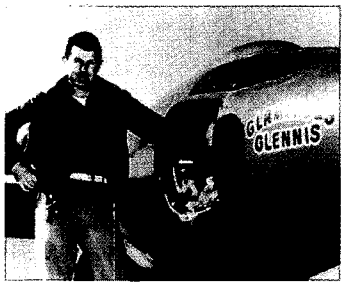
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A History of Performance.

1914: The Kew Observatory certifies Rolex as the first wristwatch in history to outperform the pocketwatch.

1926: The world's first truly water-and-shockproof watch is created when Rolex sculpts the revolutionary Oyster case from solid metal.

1927: Mercedes Gleitze swims the English Channel wearing her Rolex Oyster. Swimmer and watch emerge in France, functioning flawlessly.

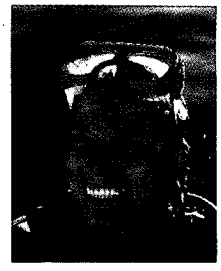


1947: WWII ace Chuck Yeager, wearing a Rolex Oyster, flies faster than the speed of sound.

1953: Timing their ascent on Rolex Chronometers, Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay become the first climbers to reach the summit of Mt. Everest.

1960: Dr. Jacques Piccard breaks the world record with a 35,000-foot dive. The Rolex Oyster strapped to his bathyscaphe never misses a minute.

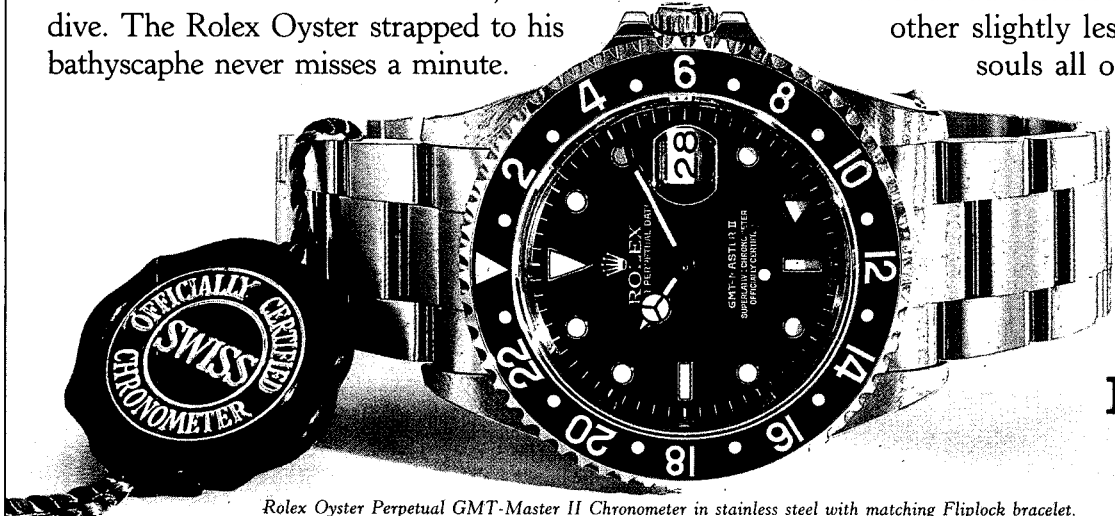
1979: Dr. Sylvia Earle, diving to a depth of 1,250 feet in the JIM diving suit, times her descent on her Rolex Oyster timepiece.



1986: The Royal Geographical Society studying the Wahiba Sands' ecosystem, in the Sahara, rely on Rolex timepieces to withstand extreme desert temperatures.

1994: Hurley Haywood, wearing his Rolex Oyster, takes his record-breaking 10th endurance race win.

Today: As they have for over eighty years, people with the spirit of adventure rely on Rolex. From conservationists like Dr. George Schaller working on the Chang Tang in Tibet to scientific teams crossing the Kimberley range in Australia. From divers timing their ascents from the chilling depths of the Pacific to climbers like Robert Anderson challenging the rarified heights of the world's tallest mountains. They all rely on Rolex performance to help them through their often very hazardous adventures. As do many other slightly less-adventurous souls all over the world.



ROLEX

Rolex Oyster Perpetual GMT-Master II Chronometer in stainless steel with matching Fliplock bracelet.
Write for brochure. Rolex Watch U.S.A., Inc., Dept. RLX, Rolex Building, 665 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022-5383.
Rolex, ♛, Oyster, Oyster Perpetual, GMT-Master II and Fliplock are trademarks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED